AMERICAN OPINION

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AN INFORMAL REVIEW

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AMERICAN OPINION

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William S. Schlamm's new series of European Surveys will begin in either the May or the June issue.

March 27, 1960

Dear Reader:

Senator Joseph McCarthy died on May 2, 1957. As we approach the third anniversary of his death, the continuing developments make many things more clear about his life and times.

It becomes easy to see why getting rid of McCarthy, at any cost, was for about two years the most important single project, in the whole world, on the agenda of the Communists—as was clearly revealed at that time by their own publications.

For McCarthy was exposing Communists while it still hurt. Today, with the Communist influence in our whole national life steadily rising, accusing anybody of Communist sympathies is likely to be considered a compliment. And today, with the single exception of Barry Goldwater, every single man being seriously considered for the presidential nomination, by either party, was among those who helped to destroy McCarthy.

A few years ago the President of the United States singled out this great American patriot, Joseph McCarthy, as being unfit for admission to the White House for a large social function. A few months ago that same President singled out the archmurderer and vicious enemy of our country, Nikita Khrushchev, to be an honored guest at the White House. And the American people took it, Jying down.

The revilement of McCarthy continues, however, and today once again is markedly increasing. While the forces that killed McCarthy now command the field, they are visibly frightened by him, even dead. These forces fear that the American people may not be quite so blind, so callous, and so supine as they seem. And history may prove that the fears are well founded.

We urge you to help history along in that worthy endeavor.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch.

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IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT ...

Let's Look Southward

On February 13, 1959, Romulo Betancourt was inaugurated President of Venezuela. For those misguided Venezuelan patriots and honest liberals who, serving Communist purposes without knowing it, had overthrown the stable anti-Communist government of Peréz Jiménez in January, 1958, this was a tragic *finale* to the drama which they themselves had opened as its brave and happy heroes.

In Cuba, a few hundred miles away, a similar denouement was being played out to a similar tragedy. But there was one difference. It took the softheaded liberals and idealistic young patriots of Cuba several months to see the truth, and to realize that they had been used as dupes and pawns to put a murderous Communist tyrant in despotic control of their country. While in Venezuela, most of the non-Communists who had so obligingly uprooted Jiménez for the Communists were too familiar with the past and purposes of Romulo Betancourt to deceive themselves about what had happened to their country when Betancourt became President.

It was this already matured disillusionment which accounted for the eerie atmosphere of the inauguration. In Caracas, a city of a million inhabitants, where a new President of the nation was being installed, the streets were empty; the stores were closed, not in celebration, but as if in silent mourning; armed tanks and machine guns were stationed at every street corner in the center of the city, and armed companies of soldiers patrolled the streets as if the country were at war and expecting an enemy to attack its capital. Or, as huge headlines of the newspaper, El Universal, put it on February 14: "YESTERDAY, WITH THE CITY IN A STATE OF SIEGE, BETANCOURT WAS INAUGURATED AS PRESIDENT."

Thus did the great "liberal democrat," now being so

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glorified by *Time* and *Life* and *Look* and other mouthpieces of the American Left, make sure that there would be no hostile demonstration on his inauguration day. Thus did he, once again come into command of the machinery of government. And thus did the people of Caracas mutely warn the world, by their very silence, of their grief and fears — if the world could only have trusted its listening posts.

Actually, of the American newspapers and magazines which we saw in February and March, 1959, we cannot remember one having even mentioned the circumstances of Betancourt's inauguration, nor all of the elaborate and oppressive precautions taken to prevent or put down hostile demonstrations — which were true. But we cannot remember one which did not state or imply that Betancourt had previously been President of Venezuela years before — which was not true. From October, 1945 to February, 1948 he had been the head of a revolutionary junta which ruled the country after having overthrown the Medina government by force and violence.

This time, however, there really had been an election. The anti-Communists of Venezuela have made many charges about the measures and methods that were used in that election by Betancourt and his Democratic Action Party. They emphasize three: (1) The masses were deliberately confused into believing that the Communists were supporting Larrazábal or even Dr. Caldera, thus alienating a lot of the support of both, while the actual Communist voting strength was put behind Betancourt; (2) the illiterate peasants in the interior of the country were told by Democratic Action agents, in some cases, that the way to vote for Larrazábal was to cast a blank voting card, and in other cases that those who cast a blank voting card would have a right to the land which would be distributed after the triumph of "democracy"; and (3) that the dollars of Betancourt's friend, Nelson Rockefeller, went a long way towards simply purchasing the election for Betancourt, without any other action being needed.

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All of the things charged here, from the Communists' pretenses of being anti-Communist to the widespread use of Rockefeller money to support Communist causes, are typical enough Communist procedures for the accusations to ring true. But we have no way of really knowing to what extent they may be exaggerated, or how many other factors entered into the election results. What we do know is that, through whatever Communist tricks and tactics used, Romulo Betancourt was able to claim the election. And he thus finally came into a position to begin in earnest that betrayal of his own country and of all Latin America to the Soviets, which has been his lifetime ambition.

And Leftward

For Romulo Betancourt is a Communist. Period. Just as much so as Mao Tse-tung and Achmed Sukarno and Fidel Castro. Naturally, today Betancourt says that he is not a Communist. He is a great "liberal," a democratic idealist. And *Time* and *Life* and *Look* and the *New York Times* will of course do their part to convince the American people that they are to believe what Betancourt says — instead of what he has been doing, all of his life, and is still doing today.

Mao Tse-tung, you will remember, claimed for twenty years that he was not a Communist, but an "agrarian reformer." Or at least, his journalistic supporters in this country claimed it for him. They included *Time*, *Life*, *Look*, the *New York Times* — and, in his case, the *Saturday Evening Post* as well. The evidence, of course, that Mao was nothing but a murderous stooge of the Kremlin, and never had been anything else, was clear as day, overwhelming and incontrovertible. But these oracles just couldn't be bothered with the evidence.

Achmed Sukarno, you will remember, claimed for a dozen years that he was not a Communist. He was the George Washington of Indonesia. His journalistic supporters in this country

—Time, Life, Look, the New York Times and others, and this time with the non-journalistic Mr. Richard Nixon added to their ranks — used no uncertain tones or half-way measures in glorifying Sukarno to the American people as another George Washington. The evidence, to be sure, that Achmed Sukarno was one of the most murderous and subservient tools the Kremlin had ever acquired, was clear as day, overwhelming, and incontrovertible. But what is a little matter of evidence, or truth, among us liberals.

Fidel Castro, you will remember, claimed for the two years that really mattered - and to the non-Communist American people only, since he took great pains to see that Communists everywhere and always recognized him as one of their own — that he was not a Communist, but a revolutionary idealist. Of course Time, Life, Look, the New York Times, and in this case both the Reader's Digest and even Our Sunday Visitor, practically guaranteed to the American people that Castro was a cross between a Spanish Robin Hood and an American boy scout. The evidence, again, that he was as vicious, lying, and cruel an agent of the Kremlin as ever uttered blasphemy, was clear as day, complete, and incontrovertible. But who cares about evidence, or truth, in these modern Republican times. The Soviets have made such things unfashionable, and if you know what is good for you - or even if you merely want to sell magazines — you had better get in step.

And instead of it becoming harder for the Communist influences in our government and over our mass media of communications to sell identically this same fraud to the American people again and again and again, the task actually becomes easier each time that they do it. Romulo Betancourt has not only been a dedicated, determined, cunning, and utterly ruthless Communist all of his adult life. And not only is the evidence of that fact clear as day, overwhelming, and incontrovertible. But his actual deeds in Venezuela right now prove beyond any slightest doubt, to anybody who will look objectively and real-

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istically at what is happening, that he is doing everything in his power, as fast as he dares (or as the Kremlin dares let him) to convert Venezuela into a province in the Soviet empire. Against those present deeds and past history there stands only one single item of evidence on the other side; and this is Betancourt's mere statement — as much and as normally to be expected at this stage of his career as his lip service to "democratic processes"—that he is not a Communist. But the "Loose" publications and all their "liberal" playmates have now become barkers to promote him as one of the great new "builders" of Latin America.

To Study A Prize Communist Specimen

Romulo Betancourt was born in Guatire, Venezuela, on February 22, 1908. He was educated in the Caracas Lyceum and in the Law School of the Central University of Venezuela. It appears that he became a tough Communist at the tender age of seventeen, and joined the first Communist cell in Caracas when it was founded in 1925. This was six years before the Communist Party of Venezuela was officially organized.

Betancourt's first Communist activity was as an agitator and organizer of student strikes and demonstrations against the regime of President Gomez. In these revolutionary efforts, in 1928, he became associated with another young Communist, Gustavo Machado, who was also destined to advance far in the Kremlin's favor. Gustavo Machado is today the official leader of the Communist Party in Venezuela. Gustavo and his brother, Eduardo Machado, have been glorified by the New York Communist paper, *The Worker*, as "Venezuela's Fabulous Machados." They work hand-in-glove with Romulo Betancourt today, just as closely as did Romulo and Gustavo over thirty years ago.

Because of his revolutionary activities in 1928, Betancourt was jailed for two months and then exiled. He went to Costa Rica and in 1930 took an active part, with Manuel Mora Val-

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verde (who is Secretary General of the Communist Party of Costa Rica today, and also Romulo Betancourt's brother-inlaw), in founding the Communist Party of that country. And by January, 1932, he was boasting, in a letter to a friend: "You know that I acted as director of the Communist Party. I wrote editorials in the newspapers, was a member of the executive committee, and directed the Popular University." In another letter, this one to the editor of a San José newspaper, on September 25, 1934, Betancourt declared: "I am and always shall be a Communist." This was, of course, before he had risen far enough in Communist ranks to realize that, until any country has been taken over completely, the most important and most powerful Communists in it - because most useful to the Kremlin - are those who deny their allegiance. The Communists who are most influential and effective in betraving their country to the Soviets are almost always the ones who are constantly quacking loudest: "There ain't nobody here but just us liberals."

Romulo claims to have left the Costa Rican Communist Party in 1935. He was not expelled. Even the differences which he conjures up, as having existed between himself and the Party, were so slight that they are not supposed to have created any friction or recrimination. He simply quit. Or so he says. All we really know is that in 1936 he returned to Venezuela, in a wave of Communists and other exiles that was allowed to come back. And that he immediately plunged again into revolutionary activity in his own country.

The Popular Revolutionary Party, preponderantly Communist but with components from all of the extreme left-wing groups, was run by the Machado Brothers. Romulo Betancourt was stymied in the matter of top command, and was too ambitious to remain so. He broke away and joined the Venezuelan Revolutionary Organization, which claimed to be more moderate, had more moderates in it, and was just the place for a clever Marxist like Betancourt to wiggle his way to the top. There he could broaden his following, and increase his power.

When the Contreras government, losing patience, decreed the expulsion of forty-seven citizens for Communist activities, not only was Romulo Betancourt one of the forty-seven; he managed by clever hiding to evade the expulsion order, and for some months directed from his various secret quarters the continued Communist movement against Contreras' government.

Finally Betancourt was captured and expelled. So we soon find him in Costa Rica again, and once more actively working with the Communist Party there. In fact, keeping in close touch also with the Communist cells in other neighboring states, Betancourt was the leader in founding at this time the Caribbean Legion — an organization run by the Communists but with Latin Americans of every political creed enticed into its ranks.

However, in 1941, at the end of the constitutional term in office of General López Contreras, Betancourt and others like him were allowed to return to Venezuela. Taking advantage of the civic guarantees offered by the government of General Medina Angarita, Betancourt now went to work with a vengeance to bring himself into power. It was at this time that he founded, out of the debris of the former Popular Revolutionary Party and of the Venezuelan Revolutionary Organization, that Democratic Action Party which has been his personal vehicle ever since. And it soon became clear to his friends and foes alike that Romulo Betancourt's ambition was to install himself in the Presidential Palace, and govern Venezuela in accordance with the dictates of Moscow.

By this time Romulo Betancourt had become a very astute "practical" politician. In combining strong-arm methods for dominating groups, typically Communist tactics of torture and kidnapping for silencing his enemies, undercover deals for making opportunistic alliances, the use of vain or needy figureheads as fronts for his own power, and idealistic-sounding pretenses to a progressive liberalism, Betancourt showed a skill and ruthlessness that were bound to make him a favorite of Moscow.

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And there is little doubt that from about 1942 Romulo Betancourt has been the chosen instrument of the Kremlin, not only for taking over Venezuela, but as the political leader to direct plans and schemes for the eventual subversion of all Latin America.

Making the hungry but well-known novelist, Rómulo Gallegos, honorary head of his Democratic Action Committee; obtaining the collaboration of a well-loved "liberal" poet, Andrés Eloy Blanco and manipulating his other puppets unceasingly from behind the scenes; taking advantage of all the freedom to conspire against the Medina government which was too liberally allowed by that government itself; by 1945 Betancourt was ready for the coup that had been clearly in the making. How much part he played in planning and organizing the revolt of the army officers which overthrew Medina in that year has never been established. But that he was in position to take full advantage of this revolt by others became very obvious in short order.

During the three years that followed Betancourt exercised very nearly dictatorial power - without ever being President - and they were very rough years indeed for Venezuela. Meetings of other political parties were broken up by armed brigades from Democratic Action. The police of Caracas, under the command of a henchman of Betancourt named Añez, collaborated in this highhanded suppression of opposition. (Today this same Martin Márquez Añez, as head of Venezuela's Military Intelligence Service, is carrying out systematic persecution of opponents, both civilian and military, of Betancourt's present regime). Thousands of illiterate peasants and laborers were brazenly added to the public payrolls for no other purpose than to increase the following and the gangster-style strength of the Betancourt organization. And the squandering of public funds reached such proportions that almost any other country in the world would have been driven into national bankruptcy as a result. Venezuela was saved from that particular calamity

by its tremendous revenues from the oil companies, which accounted for three-fourths of its budgetary expenditures, and which revenues kept right on flowing in regardless of how Betancourt's crowd wasted the money.

But finally, and apparently because the whole seizure of increasing power had come too easily, Betancourt made a premature move towards total dictatorship which was a bad mistake. He set out to dismember the army, and to substitute for it armed companies of militia recruited from the peasants and laborers within the ranks of Democratic Action. And the result was that, before he could get far enough, pretty much the same army cabal, which had cleared the way for his Democratic Action Party to take over in the first place, now rose up and threw out both Romulo Betancourt and his Party. They drove Betancourt himself into exile, and established a de facto government, under Colonel Chalbaud from 1948 to 1951, and under Dr. Flamerich from 1951 to 1952; and then some semblance of constitutional government, under President Pérez Jiménez, which lasted for another six years.

A New Cycle Begins

So at the end of 1948 we again have Romulo Betancourt in Costa Rica, as an exiled conspirator. But he has a different standing now. He is in constant contact with Communist leaders of other countries in Latin America. He has plenty of money, much of it apparently having been deposited in Canadian banks while he had his hands on the Venezuelan treasury. And having, during the three years of his control in Venezuela, turned over some very valuable oil property to the Rockefeller interests, Betancourt has now established that friendship between Nelson Rockefeller and himself, amounting almost to an alliance, which has been so valuable to him ever since.

In time he left Costa Rica for Puerto Rico and other countries. Eventually, in Mexico, he wrote a huge book, entitled VENEZUELA: POLITICS AND OIL. At the very time when, he and his apologists have claimed, he was most completely independent of the Communists, he was given the material for this huge volume by the official Communist Latin American Study Group, under the directorship of the Mexican Communist, Manuel Marcué Pardiñas. Also, the book was published by the Communist firm, Fund For Economic Culture, in Mexico. And eventually in Mexico, again with Gustavo Machado as a fellow conspirator — but now with Betancourt as top dog —plans were laid for the next upheaval in Venezuela. Technical advisers from the Kremlin, on the art and mechanics of revolution, were made available to Betancourt and his associates. The project was given the professional touch with regard to every detail. And finally, in January, 1958, the government of Pérez Jiménez was overthrown.

Again the immediate agency of revolt was a sizable group of army officers, who had been steered into a mood of vigorous discontent over some of Jiménez's policies, and into a suspicion of his efforts to govern for a further term - in order to complete some of his reconstruction plans — as showing an intent to perpetuate himself in dictatorial power. And this time, in the beginning, Betancourt worked more completely behind the scenes than before. The army officers who thought they were running this revolution put Admiral Larrazábal in charge of a de facto government, with Betancourt's full blessing and approval. But this time the Soviet influence and participation as exercised through Romulo Betancourt, the Machado brothers, and the Communist labor leader, Jesus Faria — in bringing off the revolt and determining its course, was far more clear and more significant than it had been in the somewhat similar uprising in 1945.

One thing that soon made certain the nature and extent of the forces at work behind the original leading actors on the scene was the promptness and assurance with which a majority of those actors, the very army officers who had carried out the iı

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coup, were removed from positions of power. The International Communist Conspiracy had already taken over Venezuela, whether the Venezuelan people, or even some of the politicians allowed to act as front men in the temporary government, knew it or not. Venezuelan Communist exiles from everywhere poured back into the country, to step at once into positions of influence from which good patriots were being displaced. The ranks and the reach of native resident Communists seemed somehow to swell over night to surprising proportions. And in due course, when Admiral Larrazábal had served the purpose of giving protective coloration to these power-grabbing Communist maneuvers, and had taken the steps laid out for him to give the appearance of legitimacy to the government that was to succeed his de facto regime, Romulo Betancourt emerged to assume the presidency and to start gathering into his own hands all of the reins of power.

The permeation by the Communists into every segment of the national life of Venezuela, the suppression and elimination of anti-Communists to the extent of driving all opposition underground, the consolidation of Communist strength and the organization of police-state controls at all levels, and the visible conversion of Venezuela into a satellite of the Soviets, have all been proceeding rapidly. There are now approximately two hundred thousand active members of the Communist Party, most of them occupying key posts in the central government, in state and municipal governments, and in labor organizations, education, and the press. This is about three percent of the population, and would correspond to about *five million* active Communists, all in positions of power, in the United States. And it is as large a percentage as the Communists need or want, anywhere, for the complete control of any country.

With More Specimens On View

Among the other prominent Communists associated with Betancourt in the central government are the President of the Senate, Luis Beltrán Prieto, who from 1940 to 1945 ran the leading Communist bookstore in Caracas, and who has been an active Communist for a quarter of a century; and José Antonio Mayobre, Minister of the Treasury, who figured as the principal agitator in Communist attacks on the United States Embassy in Mexico as far back as 1937, who later studied "political science" at the Lenin Institute in Moscow, and who has been fully recognized as one of Venezuela's leading Communists ever since.

By far the most powerful labor leader in Venezuela, exercising practically life-and-death control over all unions and all industry, is Jesus Faría. And this illiterate, bitter, vindictive, but extremely cunning agitator is Secretary General of the Venezuelan Communist Party. Among his most important lieutenants are Luis Miquilina, a Communist terrorist, and Martin J. Ramirez, who deserves a line or two of separate notice. For Ramirez, basically an agitator in the printing trades and at present a member of Congress, received "political" training at the Lenin Institute in Moscow for eight years. And we shall have occasion to mention him again in our final paragraphs.

The Board of Control of the Venezuelan Press Association is composed principally of Communist Party members and open sympathizers. While the names mean little to an American audience, it seems worth while mentioning Luis Beltrán Rey, Orestes di Giácomo, Aristides Bastidas, and Hueck Condado, simply by way of documentation. The newspapermen's union is under control of a Communist — the cartoonist Claudio Cedeño. And the Press School of the Central University has as its Dean, exercising great influence over new members of the press, a militant Communist, Hector Mújica, who studied several years in Moscow.

With the single exception of *El Universal* (and of the Catholic daily, *La Religion*), the more important newspapers are completely under Communist control. The owner of *El Nacional* is Miguel Otero Silva, a militant Communist of long

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standing. The weekly, Dominguito, run by the "Marxist" dentist, Dr. Bracho Montiel, has a staff that sounds like part of a roll call of Comunist Party membership. The Tribuna Popular, official organ of the Party, and directed by Gustavo Machado, has become a loud voice in the political life of the country. The one important whole chain of newspapers and magazines, of which Ultimas Noticias is the best know, is managed by Carlos Capriles, a militant Communist; and is chiefly owned by his brother, Miguel Angel Capriles, an obvious "sympathizer." Miguel Capriles is also co-owner, with Romulo Betancourt himself, of the country's leading distributing firm for newspapers and magazines. And just to top it all off, the "business committees" of the Press Association and Press Trade Union, made up almost entirely of Communists and sympathizers, not only exercise tyrannical censorship over what the press may publish, but exercise a veto power, with no appeal allowed and no reason having to be given, as to who may be hired by any newspaper or magazine.

In education it is significant, and revealing, that the Venezuelan Government Commissions, sent during 1959 to Mexico and Chile to hire teachers for the secondary school of Venezuela, have been recruiting Communists for those positions almost exclusively. We believe the information given us to be true that in the universities, lyceums, and colleges of Venezuela, at least fifty percent of the teachers are Communist Party members or definite sympathizers — as was certainly supported by the election of professors at Central University last June. And the Dean of Central University, Francisco de Venanzi, has headed the drive for funds to finance the adventurous, criminal — and so far abortive — armed expeditions against the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Haiti, and Spain.

Which brings us at last to the two most important considerations that caused us to write this article. Venezuela is a country, of some six million inhabitants, that is certainly not any shining example for its literacy, industrial advance, or

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standard of living, even among its Latin American Neighbors. The progress it might have made has probably been hurt rather than helped by all of the tens of millions of dollars the oil companies have poured in on its governments. And while it is tragic to see any country slipping into the vast concentration camp of Communist tyranny, there are many much larger ones to which this is happening today to call urgently for our attention.

But there is a great deal more involved here than Venezuela itself. Control of its vast natural oil resources, by the Soviets, is a strategic victory with frightening implications, especially as the Soviet noose begins to tighten around Western Europe. And the geographical location of Venezuela makes its takeover by the Communists a vital step in the now growing encirclement of the United States itself. Of more immediate concern however, than either of these results, is the use which the Communists visibly intend to make — and are already making — of Venezuela and its commissar, Romulo Betancourt, in the subversion of the rest of South and Central America.

While the Communists pursue, in such countries as Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, their usual policy of methodical gradualism, for raising the level of Communist influence which is already extensive, and while much of the planning and direction of that whole program will now come out of Venezuela, they have a somewhat different problem in certain other areas. For even though Batista has now been overthrown, and the Communist Fidel Castro firmly established in Cuba — with his chief help coming from Romulo Betancourt and our government — there still remain, in all of Latin America, three firmly anti-Communist governments. They are Paraguay, under General Stroessner; Nicaragua under Luis Somoza (son of President Anastasio Somoza whom the Communists assassinated in 1956); and the Dominican Republic under General Rafael Trujillo (although General Hector Trujillo is President). And there is nothing which the Communists now consider more

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urgent on their timetable than the overthow of those three governments.

Of course everything possible is being done to undermine their prestige — and naturally with the full help of our State Department. In fact Secretary Herter has gone out of his way to make clear that any dictator who is an anti-Communist is a horrible monster who ought to be boiled in oil, while any dictator who is a Communist — like Khrushchev — should be invited to our country as an honored guest and entertained royally by our President. In fact, Mr. Herter carefully emphasized his attitude toward dictators, in South America, for South American audiences and press, so that the full blessing of our government on any attempts to overthow Stroessner, Somoza, or Trujillo could not be doubted or misunderstood.

But the toppling of these strong anti-Communists, by such usual methods, is too slow for the Communists, especially since all three have had sense enough to make the usual insidious and treasonous Communist infiltration more difficult than in some other parts of the world. So the Communists clearly plan to use armed invasion more and more as their power to do so increases. One of the first such attempts was the invasion of the Dominican Republic, in June, 1959, by a guerilla force, despatched by plane from Cuba. The fifty-six men were armed with Belgian-made FAL rifles supplied by Castro, and machine guns and bazookas supplied by Romulo Betancourt from Venezuela. At the controls of the plane were a Cuban air force pilot, Orestes Acosta, and a Venezuelan Communist, Juan José Rodriguez. The expedition was made under the direct orders of Fidel Castro, but obviously with Betancourt's blessing and support — and probably with Betancourt as the top authority in both planning and execution.

In this case, instead of the "poor downtrodden" Dominicans rising and rallying behind this "Dominican Liberation Army," the farmers, in the remote area where the plane discharged its murderous crew, took after these Communist "lib-

erators" with their machetes, so vehemently and successfully that only a few of the invaders escaped with their lives. But Castro and Betancourt probably were not even greatly surprised, and certainly were not unduly disheartened by these results. Such initial thrusts are largely for probing purposes, and to enable them to learn from experience. Other similar probing forays have been conducted against other countries - including Panama, where the purpose is to add fuel to the fire already built there, under a government which itself is anything but firmly anti-Communist, to drive the United States out and obtain Communist control of the Panama Canal. Haiti has been attacked, and will be attacked again, because it offers one way of getting at the Dominican Republic. And increasingly these invasions will gain size and strength and determination until they become very important factors in subjugating Latin American countries - and close neighbors of the United States to the rule of Moscow's agents.

Helping Romulo Betancourt in the planning for all of the agitation, infiltration, subversion, and armed attacks which are to make one Latin America country after another a Soviet province, exactly as they have already done in Cuba, are Dean Francisco de Venanzi of the Central University of Caracas; Martin J. Ramirez, the labor boss referred to above; Eduardo Machado, younger of the Machado brothers; Jesus Faria, the labor union dictator; and many others under their guidance and leadership. Betancourt's agents are constantly shuttling back and forth between Caracas and Moscow to exchange reports for instructions. The campaign of agitation to upset the culture, economy, and tranquility of any nation is always carried on by the Communists under a slogan of "liberation" and democracy. Romulo Betancourt aspires, with Moscow's full support and authority behind him, to become the greatest "liberator" and "democrat" of them all.

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THIS IS WHERE I CAME IN

by

DEAN CLARENCE MANION

For a prudent selection of our next President of the United States, it should be helpful to review the events which brought about the election of the one we now have.

In 1951 it was a foregone conclusion that our next President would be a Republican. It seemed equally certain that the new President's name would be Robert A. Taft. For there was no Republican in the country who could successfully challenge Taft's right to obtain

the Republican nomination. At this point things began to happen. Recently Human Events published Senator Taft's own play-by-play account of how he lost the nomination in 1952. It is even more important to know why he lost it - to a man who had no formal political affiliations, but who had been offered the Democratic Presidential nomination by Democratic President Harry Truman. If General Eisenhower actually knew the real answer to this question eight years ago, he guarded the secret very carefully. And it is conceivable that the desperate anti-Taft emissaries, who went to Europe to "draft" the General in 1951, didn't bother to tell him exactly why he was so necessary to the accomplishment of

their purpose.

But these men knew that Taft's impending election to the Presidency would effectively restore our capricious foreign policy to its proper confinement within the Constitution of the United States. And they knew that Taft, once

nominated, could not be defeated. For these foreign missionaries of the political establishment, the defeat of Taft by Eisenhower for the nomination was the frantic last resort of their determination to keep American foreign policy for-

eign

These implacable internationalists had been driven to their sardonic expedient by the rapidly growing popular demand for brakes on an internationalism that was running wild; and especially for one proposed brake which had come to be known as "The Bricker Amendment." In this connection their European foray to draft Eisenhower paid off promptly and lavishly. For the record reveals that only once since Eisenhower's first inauguration has the impassioned personal resolution of the President been tightly teamed up with all of the vast powers of his office. This combination was effected in order to prevent two thirds of the United States Senate from ratifying the Bricker Amendment - which would merely have applied the reservations and prohibitions of the Bill of Rights, including particularly those of its ninth and tenth articles, to all of our Executive Agreements and treaties with foreign nations.

This was the very first occasion in our history on which a President of the United States was injected, or injected himself, into any one of the many proposals that have been made to amend the Federal Constitution. Said Marquis Childs in the Washington Post at the time (January 27, 1954): "Once the President decided to come down firmly and unequivocally against the Bricker Amendment, the outcome of the contest was never in doubt. For two thirds of the Senate to vote against the President on such a crucial issue would have been, for all practical purposes, the end of the Eisenhower Administration."

On the point about the outcome never being "in doubt," Childs was merely whistling in the dark for the benefit of his prized "White House sources of information." For as a matter of fact, these "White House sources" were scared stiff over the very real prospect that the Bricker Amendment, in some more or less disagreeable form, would be ratified by the Senate, Presidential opposition to the contrary notwithstanding. When the crucial test at last came, just one less than two thirds of the United States Senators present did vote against the President. The final vote, on February 26, 1954, was sixty Senators for, and thirty-one Senators against, ratification.

Thus, by the narrowest possible margin, the President won his celebrated fight to prevent "the end" of his Administration "for all practical purposes." The President won, incidentally, in a welter of parliamentary confusion and ruthlessly applied political pressure; in a turmoil so bitter that it permanently scarred the reputations of some of the most respected men on both sides of the Senate aisle, and left the Republican Party with a mortal wound.

Here, indeed, was the "end" of the Eisenhower Administration, but in another sense. It was the "end" for which that Administration had been conjured up in the first place. For those who had

concocted the Eisenhower expedient, this "end" undoubtedly justified the drastic means that had been used. Had the vote gone the other way, the whole international "grand design" might have crumbled into ruins. The "foreign missionaries" had good reason to congratulate themselves on both the wisdom and the luck of their choice at the 1952 Convention.

II

THE PROPOSED BRICKER AMENDMENT was an attempt to re-establish, firmly and constitutionally, our national independence. Its defeat was the purely personal accomplishment of Dwight D. Eisenhower. If any other person had been President of the United States in 1953 and 1954, the Bricker Amendment, as favorably reported out of the Senate Judiciary Committee on June 15, 1953, would have sailed smoothly through the process of Senate ratification. And having obtained this certain Senate approval, it would surely and quickly have been ratified by the states, and have become a part of the Constitution.

To prevent this from happening, the range of presidental pressure was extended far beyond the membership of the Senate. The people who persistently prodded Mr. Eisenhower into his unprecedented activity turned over every stone in sight. For instance, here is what the Alsops said, in the Washington Post, January 29, 1954, as the day of the final show-down in the Senate approached: "According to the most responsible White House authorities, the President has decided to ask Dr. Clarence Manion to resign the chairmanship of the Special Presidential Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Dr. Manion is to be fired for cause, the

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cause being his persistent attacks on all opponents of the Bricker Amendment, who, of course, include the President himself. The reasons for cracking down on him (Manion) are extremely important." The Alsops proved to be entirely correct. I resigned, at the request of Sherman Adams, "speaking for the President," on February 17, 1954.

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The bi-partisan Commission on Intergovernmental Relations had been created by an Act of Congress, on July 10, 1953. The Act provided that five of the Commission's members were to be appointed by the Speaker of the House, five by the President of the Senate, and fifteen members, including the chairman, were to be appointed by the President. On August 18, 1953, this writer had become the first chairman of the Commission, by urgent request of the President, despite my then known and vigorous advocacy of the Bricker Amendment.

For although the President's frenetic opposition to the Bricker Amendment was decisive, it definitely had not developed from any long-standing personal convictions on the subject of treaty law. Without qualification, Mr. Eisenhower had stood squarely on the 1952 Republican platform which said: "We shall see to it that no treaty or agreement with other countries deprives our citizens of the rights guaranteed to them by the Federal Constitution."

The President had warmly commended my nation-wide radio speech in 1952, in which the dangers of supraconstitutional treaty law were fully described and documented as a reason why Mr. Eisenhower should be elected. Aside from the distinguished former President of the American Bar Association, Frank E. Holman, whose re-

searches and speeches had pioneered the movement to correct the danger of supra-constitutional treaty law by appropriate constitutional revision, there was no more noisy and notorious advocate of the Bricker Amendment before Congressional Committees and before the public, in August, 1953, than myself. But it was during August that the President persuaded me to accept the chairmanship of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, by his personal assurance that the duties involved would certainly not make it necessary for the chairman to curtail nation-wide speaking schedule which Holman and I, with others, were then conducting to educate the public to the dangers of unrestrained treaty law.

III

Just when did the President decide to "come down firmly and unequivocally against the Bricker Amendment?" Let's look at the record.

On February 25, 1953, Mr. Holman and Mr. Alfred J. Schweppe, chairman of the Peace and Law Committee of the American Bar Association, had an appointment with the President which had been arranged for them by his brother, Mr. Edgar Eisenhower. They conferred with the President about the Amendment which Senator Bricker had re-introduced into the Senate (S.J. Res. No. 1) a month earlier. Here is Mr. Holman's published account of that interview.

"The President made two propositions quite clear to us: First, that he was not in favor of treaties or international agreements overriding the Constitution of the United States, and second, that since under our Constitutional procedure, the matter of a Constitutional Amendment did not come to his desk for approval or disapproval, he saw no reason for taking any position on the matter." (The Story of The Bricker Amendment: Frank E. Holman, Page 34. The Committee For Constitutional Government, 205 E. 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y. \$1.00).

Mr. Holman properly and promptly spread word of the President's position through Congress, and notified the appropriate people in the Departments of Justice and State. Letters and telegrams favoring the Amendment were pouring in upon Congress by the thousands. Forty-four of the most important patriotic and professional organizations in the country, including the American Bar Association, the American Legion, the American Farm Bureau Federation and the American Medical Association, were on record favoring ratification. Only six organizations of any size and standing were on record as opposed. These were the Americans for Democratic Action, the American Jewish Committee, the American Federation of Labor, B'nai Brith, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the American Association of University Women. Thus, among other considerations in its favor, support of the measure seemed to be "good politics," by a preponderant ratio. At this point, the early ratification of the Bricker Amendment appeared to be definitely "in the cards."

Then somebody "lowered the boom." The first warning came from the newly appointed Legal Adviser to the State Department, one Herman Pfleger of San Francisco. As soon as this gentleman reached Washington he notified Frank Holman that there would be no Constitutional Amendment on the subject of treaty law. It is apparent now

that Mr. Pfleger had told the then Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, the same thing. Whatever the source of Mr. Pfleger's authority or certainty, the resulting turn-about was sensational.

For on the dangerous nature of treaty law, Mr. Dulles had been the most quoted authority in the country. In a public speech delivered in Louisville, Kentucky, on April 12, 1952, he had said: "The treaty-making power is an extraordinary power liable to abuse. Treaties make international law and also they make domestic law. Under our constitution, treaties become the Supreme Law of the Land. They are indeed more supreme than ordinary laws, for Congressional laws are invalid if they do not conform to the Constitution, whereas treaty laws can override the Constitution. Treaties, for example, can take powers away from the Congress and give them to the President. They can take powers from the States and give them to the Federal Government or to some international body and they can cut across the rights given the people by the Constitutional Bill of Rights." (Italicizing added.)

Whoever reads this concise statement carefully is sure to read it again, and then ask an inevitable question. The answer is: "No, Mr. Dulles never denied the accuracy of this frightening analysis." On the contrary, when he was asked about it before the Senate Judiciary Committee on April 6, 1953, with Mr. Pfleger at his elbow, he merely assured the Committee that the Eisenhower Administration had no plans to make any treaties that would do the startling things he had described at Louisville; and on the basis of that assurance he insisted that no Constitutional Amendment, such as Senator

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Bricker proposed, was necessary or desirable. In other words, under a government of good men like President Eisenhower, Mr. Dulles, and Mr. Pfleger, a government of laws would be impertinent.

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The Attorney General underscored this point of view in his testimony the very next day, April 7, before this same Committee. There was no longer any question about it. The Administration had now taken Mr. Pfleger's position that there must be no amendment at all on the subject of treaty law. In practically no time at all the President was saying the same thing - and with a vengeance. At some point, between February and September of 1953, the internationalists' spokesmen managed to convince Mr. Eisenhower that defeat of the Bricker Amendment was the end for which the twain had met in Europe in 1951.

IV

Since 1920 the internationalists have known that the American electorate cannot be trusted to vote "yes" on proposals to transfer American sovereignty to international bodies. That was the year in which President Wilson's "great and solemn popular referendum" turned down the League of Nations in a Republican landslide.

Less publicity was given to a decision which the Supreme Court handed down at the same time, giving some consolation to the heartsick internationalists. But they made a careful note of it, nevertheless. For in 1920, in the case of Missouri v. Holland (252 U.S. 416, 432), the Supreme Court decreed substantially what Mr. Dulles was to say at Louisville, in 1952, as quoted above: "Treaties are a constitution of the United States

unto themselves."

Henceforth, the road to internationalism was carefully detoured around the ballot box and routed exclusively into and out of the State Department. Then, in 1942, in the case of United States v. Pink (315 U.S. 203), Mr. Justice Douglas gave the doctrine of treaty law supremacy a big assist by applying it to Executive Agreements as broadly as the Court had previously applied it to treaties. Thereafter, the Constitution of the United States was to be just whatever the President says it is, so long as he can get the foreign minister of some other country to agree with him. This is what the Bricker Amendment sought to change. And this is precisely why the internationalists used the vast prestige of their new General-President to fight that amendment to the death.

As early as 1950 the State Department had ruled that there is no longer any such thing as a domestic question. (State Department Publication 3972 — Foreign Affairs Policy Series 26, released September, 1950.) President Eisenhower now agrees. He told the students of St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, on May 22, 1959: "For us indeed there are no longer 'foreign affairs' and 'foreign policy.' Since such affairs belong to and affect the entire world, they are essentially local affairs for every nation, including our own."

And who will ultimately decide disputes over these local affairs that are now foreign affairs? Vice President Nixon suggests the International Court of Justice. He favors modification of the Connally Reservation in our treaty of adherence to that international body. (Speech before the Academy of Political Science, New York City, April 13, 1959.) The Connally Reservation leaves

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with the United States the sole determination of what problem areas are within our domestic jurisdiction and thus exempt from consideration by the International Court. Mr. Nixon said that the Eisenhower Administration would remedy that defect very shortly. The International Court itself was to be given the sole power to decide what is domestic and what is international. In his "State of the Union Message," President Eisenhower came through with the recommendation that Mr. Nixon had anticipated. He asked the Senate to pass the Humphrey Resolution (S.R. 94). Repeal of the Connally Reservation is now a part of the bi-partisan internationalist Grand Design.

We have had some recent unhappy experience with our own Supreme Court's appetite for the assumption of unwarranted jurisdiction. So we should not be surprised at anything when this international body begins to be the Supreme Arbiter of where it can go, looking for what. After all, too, Congress may eventually, by new legislation, recover the ground it has lost to the Su-

preme Court of the United States. But who will recover, and by what means, whatever the International Court gradually gathers unto itself? Only the Bricker Amendment could recover that ground, and the Bricker Amendment is dead.

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Or is it? The attempt to repeal the Connally Reservation has stirred up the patriots of our country as nothing else has for quite a while. This attempt to surrender an appreciable part of our national independence to an internationalist body (under strong Communist influence) is so brazen and so revealing that it might bring about an unexpected result. Millions of patriotic Americans just might stop being on the defensive all of the time, battling only to keep from losing ground. They just might go on the offensive with a rising determination to settle this matter of our national independence once more, decisively, and in our favor. We could be just moving into the fight over the Bricker Amendment, and the whole danger of treaty law, all over again.

We Pause To Remark

Since writing the above article, Dean Manion has made an excellent statement debunking that spurious catch phrase, "World Peace Through World Law," by asking "What law?" He declared:

"In the presently deranged state of mankind there is little prospect for world peace and there is no such thing as world law.... There is no law to govern the decisions of the International Court of Justice with respect to the scope of its own jurisdiction or anything else."

The Communist nations, of course, have refused to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the International Court, but they and their allies and dupes in this country are all for having the United States do so without any safeguards to our rights or sovereignty. As for the law, to be used by the Court as a basis for its decisions, that will be manufactured and provided by the judges as they go along.

In his budget message to Congress President Eisenhower requested \$800,000 for expenses of the proposed Summit Conference scheduled to be held in Geneva in May. And what a grand opportunity that offers for reducing the budget!

WHAT ARE WE TEACHING OUR CHILDREN?

by

MEDFORD EVANS

THE CHILDREN referred to by my title include those of college age. In fact, I shall give them my chief attention. This is, first, because I know more about what is going on in the colleges than elsewhere. But it is also because what is taught in the colleges determines what will be taught in other parts of our educational system. Some of our lower schools plan their course and courses with a careful eye on college entrance for their graduates. Virtually all teachers in these lower schools come out of our colleges. So, while all parts of the system are interdependent, I believe that the character of our elementary and high schools, and also the character of our professional and graduate schools, depend even more on the character of our colleges than the colleges do on them. However, I shall not belabor the point, for this article will deal to some extent with all levels of educa-

In trying to answer our question, I suggest, to start with, that inevitably we are teaching something of the arts and sciences, and that we are teaching certain attitudes. Therefore, in order to make comparisons, we can break down the question as follows. Are we teaching the *same* arts and sciences as elsewhere, or formerly? Are we teaching as much, or more, or less, of those arts and sciences? Are we inculcating the same attitudes? Are we more thorough or less thorough in that inculcation or indoctrination?

By the arts I mean skills. Painting is an art. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are arts. Woodworking and car-driving are arts. You will observe that I have listed three kinds of arts—usually called, respectively, the fine arts, the liberal arts, and the practical arts. In architecture the three would all be combined.

By the sciences I mean areas of knowledge. Astronomy and botany are sciences. So are history and geography. Many of our most important subjects of study-including, I believe, the subjects of all of the professions-blend art and science. Those disciplines which we think of first as science, such as physics and chemistry, depend to a large degree on the experimental method; and the formulation and conducting of experiments is quite an art. On the other hand, we can hardly imagine anyone's practicing the fine arts, or even the practical arts, in a significant or useful way, without the background of some more or less concentrated fund of knowledge-which means some degree of science. Most strikingly, in the liberal arts like mathematics or the languages, it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between the knowledge of them, which is science, and the ability to use them well, which is art.

With these definitions to stand on, therefore, let's now restate one part of our question. Are we teaching less or more of the arts and sciences than a generation ago? In answering this question it is customary for conservatives

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What Are We Teaching Our Children?

and eggheads (who agree on nothing else) to say that we are teaching less; and for organization liberals, especially those representing teachers' colleges, to say that we are teaching more.

Quite often, the organization liberals will admit that the average level of teaching in the college or high school today, or even in the elementary school, is lower than formerly. But they will immediately point out that the benefits of some kind of education are reaching so many more people that the total quantity of raw education is bound to be far greater; and that the modern system is more democratic. Frequently, even the conservatives and the eggheads will somewhat grudgingly concede that there is something to this analysis. But they mutter under their breath that they are not at all sure that so much democracy is a Good Thing. This heresy threatens to throw the organization liberals into such a state of shock that the conservatives and even the eggheads themselves tend to panic and to retreat from the whole discussion.

П

IN MY OWN VIEW, it is an oversimplification to say that we teach more people not quite so well. I would suggest: The arts and sciences are taught much more exclusively and much less uniformly than they used to be. Far more people have diplomas and degrees, but it is less certain what any diploma or degree means. The new extensiveness results from public enthusiasm for public education. The lack of uniformity results from two things. And the first is simply a natural outcome of rapid expansion, with neglect of quality controls.

So far I believe I have said nothing

essentially new. But the other development which causes the lack of uniformity is seldom discussed, or even mentioned. That is a tendency deliberately to separate a superior, elite group of students from the masses. tol

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This program is partly formal and open, but mostly it is informal, tacit, and assiduously ignored. The formal and open part of the process is, most typically, a separation of superior students within a given institution. The informal and tacit part—and I think by far the more important part—is a differentiation in fact between institutions that are supposed to be similar, and that give identical degrees.

Many a technical college gives the same degrees as Cal Tech or MIT, but no one expects the average level of their graduates to be equal. The same consideration applies to the "Ivy League" colleges as opposed to their provincial cousins. It is taken for granted that an A.B. from Princeton is worth more in every way, and perhaps especially in dollars and cents, than an A.B. from Podunk, even though Podunk may be, as its literature will tell you, "fully accredited."

Tulane and Rice are other examples of collegiate institutions whose graduates are assumed to have an advantage. More important than any real or imagined difference in academic level between Princeton and Podunk, or between Tulane and Dogpatch Tech, is the fact that the colleges with lower standards are, in the main, not trying to come up to the higher standards. They accept frankly the idea that they serve a different clientele, who want and need a different kind of merchandise—though with the same label.

At one college where I taught I was

What Are We Teaching Our Children?

told emphatically by an administrator: "Doctor, you have got to learn that this is not Yale." Nothing was easier to learn. But what was not so easy to learn was that the college did not want to be like Yale academically, or to acquire an equal standing. They merely wanted to give the same kind of degrees. Suppose you picture an imaginary system in the baseball world, in which you take the major leagues and all of the church and industrial sottball leagues into one survey, and rank the individual teams in the total survey according to their perecentages within their respective leagues, without any reference to the difference in the playing standards of those leagues. You would then have something quite similar to the degree system in the American academic world

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I dwell on this because I believe it is necessary to recognize the existence of, and difference between, elite and mass educational institutions in this country, before we can answer our first question. I believe that the arts and sciences are taught about as intensively as ever in our elite institutions. But when we consider the mass institutions the situation is altogether different. Here there is not only a failure to come up to desirable standards; there is a deliberate and systematic degradation of standards. I have belonged to a faculty where we were specifically warned, in a formal faculty meeting, not to get ideas about raising standards. This was not at the same institution where I was enjoined to learn that the place was not Yale. This was another one. The two were in different states. And I am reasonably sure that they are typical, in this respect, of hundreds of colleges throughout the country.

It is my considered opinion that the average graduate of a non-elite college today knows less than the average graduate of an accredited high school knew thirty years ago. You may ask: Less of what? If so, I reply: Less of almost any field you care to name, and less of a total of all fields. It is sometimes assumed that we have substituted science for the classics. But in the mass institutions this is certainly not true. We have abandoned the classics, but we have not put science in their place. The average college student in my state today does not know any Latin, but he does not know any physics either. It is pretty hard to say just what he does know. Of course we have a lot of bright young people, and some of them do put their brightness to excellent use. But there is not much you can depend on any of them knowing simply by virtue of the fact that they have college degrees.

III

WHAT YOU can depend on, however, is that all of them will have a certain set of attitudes. In the indoctrination business the American educational system is doing quite a thorough job. Furthermore, in this respect there is no essential difference between the elite and the mass institutions. The graduates of Tulane and of Podunk will differ greatly in their command of the arts and sciences, but they will have the same attitude towards the United Nations. The MIT man will probably understand better than his theoretical compeer from Oasis Tech the physics of the atomic bomb, but they will have indistinguishable attitudes toward the nuclear negotiations at Geneva.

Our elite institutions and our mass institutions alike inculcate an attitude of respect for science and of dependence on the state. There is this difference: In the mass institutions science and the state are thought of as being centered somewhere else, while in the elite institutions science and the state are thought of as being right there. But in both places the "pitch" is that science is the source of all knowledge and the state is the indispensable instrument of power. Of course, knowledge is power -that is to say, science is power-but it must operate through the state. By the state, of course, we do not mean one of the fifty; we do not even mean the Federal Government. We mean the whole process of collecting and spending taxes, the whole process of policing the stupid or the mentally ill, the whole process of imposing upon the masses the will of the informed elite-wherever these processes are found to operate in the one world in which we dwell. All present particular states are merely forerunners of, and in a sense belong to, the universal state of the future.

In the present condition of mankind, a university is a relatively very powerful institution in our Western world. In this country an Ivy League university exercises power both directly on government and business, and indirectly through leading other universities and colleges. Whether a student goes to Podunk or to Harvard, he learns to defer to a Harvard professor. The professors and students at both Harvard and Podunk agree that such deference is proper. Even so, it is seldom recognized that Harvard and Podunk are essentially different kinds of institutionsone for the masses, the other for the elite. It is merely considered desirable

and proper that the masses and the elite should have the same attitude about one basic thing; that is, they should agree that it is good for the elite to lead the masses. But they do not at all need to master the same arts and sciences. Indeed there is something disturbing to the elite, perhaps, in the thought of every TV viewer understanding electronics, not to speak of mass psychology, as well as do the experts at the center.

At this point, too, we can discern a possible explanation of the somewhat curious phenomenon mentioned earlier -that conservatives and eggheads seem to agree in a kind of opposition to modern mass education. I for one have often been confused to realize that no one excels Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, former President of the University of Chicago, in blasting the kind of education disseminated throughout the land from the University of Chicago, or that nobody could be so critical of the same kind of education poured out in even more of a torrent from Columbia University, unless it be Dean Jacques Barzun of Columbia. For these men are leading liberals. And we usually think that the shape and color of modern education—and its size—have largely been determined by liberals.

The Washington Post, the Headquarters of the National Education Association, and the Soviet Embassy are all within a stone's throw of each other in Washington, but all avoid throwing the stones. Yet the Washington Post requires of its editorial writers a kind of prose style which would be regarded as very undemocratic at the NEA. Professor Arthur Bestor of the University of Illinois and Editor Max Ascoli of the Reporter magazine will say scornful things about contemporary schools that will leagu a sn rolle Colu ingly when Prof write the s prof teach regis natio most bine ative

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will bring a surge of hope to every beleaguered reactionary being run over by a smoothly functioning PTA steam roller. In general, no one can blast Columbia Teachers' College so witheringly as an Ivy League professor. But when Dr. Hutchins and Dean Barzun, Professor Bestor and Editor Ascoli, the writers for the Washington Post and the staffers of the NEA, the Ivy League professors and the Teachers' College teachers go to the polls, or otherwise register a decision in national or international affairs, they demonstrate a most remarkable solidarity. They combine unhesitatingly against the conservative-or, to use a word they would be more likely to accept-against the reactionary. And the important discovery is how often and how easily they agree as to just who is a reactionary.

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I used to think that because a Hutchins and a Bestor could be so caustic at the expense of what Dewey and Counts and Thorndike had done, and that because the Reporter and the New Yorker could be so scornful and supercilious toward dullness and pomposity -that therefore a break in the Liberal front was foreshadowed. I could not have been more wrong, as Dr. Conant, the former President of Harvard who once suggested that private schools were undemocratic, should have made me realize. But I did not realize it until the obvious dawned on me: that while the Ivy League will, as it evidently does, hold Teachers' College in great contempt, it will never, never try to put Teachers' College out of business. For the Ivy League thinks somebody ought to do something about the masses; it (the Ivy League) has no intention of trying to do anything about them except avoid them; and probably Teachers' College has just the formula to take care of the situation.

IV

Now I have spent a good deal of the trying to establish as a fact that our colleges are divided into two classes—a comparatively small number of institutions for an elite group of students, and a very large number of institutions for the masses. But I believe this is a fact, I believe it is little known, or little realized, and I believe we have to recognize it before we can understand the over-all program in which our whole public school system is involved—and our parochial and private schools too, though in a less obvious manner.

Recently I read in a rather new kind of magazine, named Horizon, an article by one Stimson Bullitt, of Seattle, from his new book, To Be A Politician. The article is called "The Future American Class System," and here is a quotation from it: "The new main division may be between a liberal upper class and a conservative lower one . . . Accurate sifting of abilities will divide society into haves and have-nots of talent rather than wealth." Now I must say that Horizon is a very expensive magazine, so that it is likely for a time to circulate more among the haves of wealth who can pay for it than among the haves of talent to whom it is evidently expected to appeal. Yet individuals of many classes as well as some of us unclassified specimens may read it, as I did, in a public library. And there are probably enough wealthy persons, with that instinct of self-destruction which James Burnham and Newton Fulbright among others have noted, to keep such a magazine going. So consider what the guy says! He predicts "a liberal upper class"

and "a conservative lower one," and this is to be because "accurate sifting of abilities will divide society into haves and have-nots of talent"!

In other words, to have talent is to be liberal. It works in reverse-to be liberal is to have talent. "Conservatives" will make an ideal lower class, because conservatives do not want to change anything; and thus they will not revolt against their liberal masters, whose talents they will acknowledge because that will be the conservative thing to do! In such a society proficiency in the arts and sciences-evidence of talentwould be a monopoly of the upper class. Being liberal, this upper class would make any changes that needed to be made from time to time. All that would be required of members of the lower class would be a conservative attitude, forbidding them to disrupt the status quo by objecting to anything that the liberal upper class wanted to do. Why didn't somebody think of this sooner? It's so simple. Conservatives are satisfied with things as they are, liberals are dissatisfied. When the dissatisfied liberals are on the bottom they upset things. But if the conservatives were on the bottom they would furnish a stable foundation for society, while the nimble liberals could gyrate around on the superstructure to their hearts' content!

All joking aside, that is an analysis, not of the way society necessarily will be in the future, but of the way the now influential groups intend for it to be. It fits in very well with the fact that while the Ivy League is contemptuous of the academic sticks, and colleges in the sticks are occasionally envious of the Ivy League, yet neither group has any intention of trying to grow any real ivy in the sticks—that is, of trying to as-

similate the mass colleges to the elite colleges—for they simply serve different purposes.

I asserted at the outset that what colleges are today is likely to determine what the schools will be tomorrow. Since trends and developments in the colleges come first, the division between the masses and the elite is not yet nearly so clear-cut in the schools as it is in the colleges. To be sure, we have exclusive private schools. In the East especially we have private secondary schools-preparatory schools-which cater to an elite, in part the same elite as in the favored colleges. But only in part. The prep school elite is far more nearly identical with a financial upper class than is the college elite. You are not likely to go to Groton unless your family has been rich for some time, but you may comparatively easily go to Harvard without being rich at all. At Harvard there will be some advantage in having been first to Groton, but some disadvantage too; and there will in any case be nothing like the same degree of advantage that having been to Harvard will give you when you go to New York, or especially to Washington. Eventually, it is reasonable to think, the division between mass institutions and elite institutions will appear as clearly at the school level as it now does at the collegiate level. For the time being, however, our school systems are badly confused.

What they do in the main, I fear, is plan for the masses. This means that they plan in general to teach less and less of the arts and sciences which only the elite will need, and to indoctrinate their students more and more in those "conservative" attitudes which the lower classes will need to sustain them in the future. And since religion cannot be

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taught in the public schools—both because of the separation of church and state and because it is in some quarters regarded as the opium of the people—we have a substitute for it which is a kind of ersatz religion. The instruction manuals for this religion are usually called "Core Curriculum" or "Problems of Democracy." In it the students are taught—to summerize succinctly—that the liberals are always right.

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In conclusion, what are the functions of the New Educational System, which we do not yet have in perfection, but of which the outlines are reasonably clear? The over-all function is to facilitate the "historical" development of society. It is the special role of the schools to form and lead oncoming generations so that they will both accelerate the historical movement away from the past and fit into the societal patterns of the future.

It is obvious even to liberals that society must continue, for a long time to come, to have leaders, inasmuch as the masses have little, or at best a confused, sense of direction. Part of the task is to provide this leadership on an increasingly scientific basis. In the accomplishment of this task the educational system has the most conspicuous role. Education is preparation. The masses are prepared for their role by conditioning, the leaders by a study of the laws of society.

Suppose you were to ask me: "Dr. Evans, how do you know that this is the thinking of management in the field of education? Where do you get your information?" I should reply: "I just inhale it." I have lived in an academic atmosphere for thirty-five years, fully

conscious part of the time. But I would not blame you for wanting documentation a little more specific. So I refer you, first, to a resolution of the National Education Association, adopted in 1944: "Education should prepare each generation to meet the social, economic, and political problems of an ever changing world." Next I quote from an article in the magazine, School and Society-a very good article, by the way, written by one Frank C. Child, and entitled "Organizing Our Colleges." What makes it good are certain procedural suggestions that Mr. Child advances. But what we are interested in here is his basic assumption about the task of today's educational system as a whole. "What kind of educated man," he asks, "can be and should be mass-produced?" And he gives the answer: "Certainly not the sort that educators set up as their ideal. (He does not explain what that is, but presumably it is a man well versed in the arts and sciences.) While we must reserve a special place in our educational system for the gifted student whose mind can be liberated and disciplined, we also must accept the fact that for most students such education is neither feasible nor appropriate."

It is significant that Mr. Child does not argue this point of view. He just takes it for granted. The main purpose of his article is to recommend certain methods. But notice what he says: It is neither feasible nor appropriate for the minds of most students to be liberated and disciplined. (Those words are italicized in the original article.) It is only the gifted student whose mind is to be liberated and disciplined. It will of course be the New Educational System that decides who is to be regarded as gifted. Those so regarded will ob-

What Are We Teaching Our Children?

viously be an elite—the sort of elite I have been trying to talk about.

And perhaps now I can wrap up for you a terse if not quite complete answer to the question with which we started: What are we teaching our children? We are teaching them an attitude of respect for science and of dependence on the state. That is about all we are teaching all of them. In addition, we are teaching an elite minority something of what science is and how the state operates. We are keeping the masses off the streets—the little ones from being traffic victims, the teen-agers from being juvenile delinquents, and the grown ones, in college, from being technically unemployed. And all the time we are conditioning them to respond in predictable ways to the slogans which the elite hope always to be able to devise. We are, in a word, teaching them to be robots in a totalitarian state.

I know that sounds pessimistic, or

even cynical. I can only say that is seems to me, as far as it goes, to be true. Yet I am not a cynic, and I am only a conditional pessimist. I am very pessimistic if the present outlook and purposes in mass education continue to prevail, and if our more typical educators succeed in doing to the children what they are trying to do. But I do not think they will succeed. Innumerable children will do far better in acquiring the arts and sciences than the system intends that they shall. And it may even be that innumerable parents and responsible citizens will presently begin to insist: (1) That our educators make clear what they want to do with the money they demand; and (2), that these educators show by results that with it they are doing something really worth while. It is doubtful that even the National Education Association can keep on fooling all of the people all of the time.

We Pause To Remark

P. C. (Cap) Beezley, that able and full-time patriot of the state of Washington, seems at last to have found the key of consistency in one formerly puzzling attitude of our State Department. If the dictators are anti-Communist—such as Trujillo, Stroessner, and Somoza—then dictatorship is a horrible, horrible crime against humanity; and the dictators themselves are wicked monsters who should not only be deposed, but boiled in oil. If the dictators are Communists, however—such as Khrushchev, Castro, and Achmed Sukarno—then dictatorship is merely a necessary transition stage to the democracy of the future; and the dictators themselves are really nice fellows, who should be showered with American favors to strengthen their regimes. It's all as simple as knowing your left hand from your right.

In the spring of 1959 Congressman Charles O, Porter of Oregon solemnly stated: "No one in the State Department believes Castro is a Communist or Communist sympathizer, nor does any other responsible person who wants to get his facts straight." At that time also, in the pages of the Congressional Record, this same Charles O. Porter was ridiculing the editor of AMERICAN OPINION for stating that Castro was a Communist and giving the facts to prove it.

Since then, of course, Castro has done a pretty good job of supplying further proof. Among other things, he and his agents have confiscated American property, imprisoned American citizens, continuously insulted the American nation, and boasted that he could subjugate the United States. In fact his insults, threats, and typically Communist crimes against us have now gone so far as to move our government to undertake "massive retaliation." We are indebted to Fulton Lewis for the details. The United States dance troupe (the American Ballet Theatre) will participate soon in a ballet festival sponsored by the Cuban National Tourist Institute. And this is no unofficial retaliation. The visit of this American dance group to Havana is made possible through the assistance of President Eisenhower's Special International Program for Cultural Presentations.

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A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

REVILO P. OLIVER

The first half of this article offers penetrating scholarship at its best. As "A Mighty Hand, from an exhaustless Urn, Pours forth the never-ending Flood of Years," there is perhaps profit and certainly a wistful pleasure in glancing back at terrain through which we so recently rode the foremost wave. And we apologize to Dr. Oliver for letting his look at the intellectual high spots of 1959—which he had ready the first of February—be delayed into April publication by our "pamphlet" issues. But in the perspective which he utilizes here, the recession of a few months makes very little difference.

We feel that we must warn our matter-of-fact readers, however, not to expect matter-of-fact reviews in the next few pages. If you are primarily interested in finding in this feature some guidance as to good books to read or bad books to avoid, we suggest that you skip everything up to the first set of asterisks. We should not want you seeing stars before they are physically present; and we cannot be sure what effect a bombardment of Xi-neutrals may have on the irascible dispositions of some of you more down-to-earth and already disturbed patriots. Hence this two-paragraph road sign, which simply says: Travel At Your Own Risk.

Now that 1959 has become a link in the long chain of our past, it may be interesting to turn our eyes for a moment from its political events, which were essentially skirmishes and strategic manoeuvres in preparation for a decisive battle that has yet to be fought, to the intellectual and cultural changes that may shape our thought and hence our society in the future—assuming, of course, that we have a future.

Let us, therefore, as a speculative exercise—for obviously the limitations of a man's outlook, information, and competence permit nothing more than that—attempt to guess what was potentially the most significant development of 1959 in four distinct fields: literature,

physics, philosophy, and political economy.

The most important work of literature published during the year was undoubtedly the *Dyscolos* of Menander. Until 1907 all that we knew of the work of the greatest playwright of Greek New Comedy was a few hundred scattered lines that had been quoted by later writers, including St. Paul; since that time we have had the larger part of one play and considerable portions of three others. Now at last, from a papyrus copy made in the third century of our era and fortuitously preserved in the sands of Egypt until it was accidentally found a short time ago, we have

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a virtually complete play, which won the first prize when it was produced in Athens in 317 B.C.

Now the New Comedy, which is essentially the bourgeois comedy of manners with a plot that usually ends with the marriage of lovers (i.e. the kind of play that dominates our stage), is admittedly not the most exalted or exalting form of literature, and it came into being in the Hellenistic Age, when the unparalleled creative power of the Greeks was already waning. The Dyscolos has a quiet charm and direct humor that makes Molière, for example, seem by comparison overwrought and Baroque. The unadorned vivacity of its style will severely try the powers of whoever undertakes to translate it into English.

We gain some perspective when we reflect that the *Dyscolos* is the only book of the year that is certain, or even likely, to be read as literature a century hence, and we may take some courage from the thought that this fragile blossom of our civilization has survived catastrophic wars, ethnic decay, barbarian invasions, and all the multiple disasters of twenty-two centuries.

There appears to have been no major discovery in physics, but the reported finding of a new subatomic particle, called Xi-neutral, may have consequences. The methodology has raised some misgivings (of 70,000 photographs of a bubble-chamber, 69,999 were discarded, and a slight angular abnormality in the track of a proton on the single remaining photograph was interpreted as showing that an unseen Xineutral had broken down into an unseen Pi-neutral and an unseen Lambda-neutral, whence sprang the

slightly deflected proton), but the addition of this "heavy elementary particle," if valid, to the steadily expanding list of subatomic particles has raised the question whether nuclear physics is not desperately in need of, and perhaps on the eve of finding, a radically new concept of atomic structure.

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The beautifully simple atom postulated by Bohr, which consisted of a nucleus about which one or more electrons revolved in fixed orbits, has become a tangled mass of many different kinds of particles-according to one count, there were thirty-two varieties of positive, negative, and neutral subnuclear particles before the reported observation of Xi-neutral—some of which, such as the famous neutrino, are metaphysically implausible and only precariously supported by experimental evidence. One is reminded of the Ptolemaic theory in astronomy, which, starting from a reasonable postulate that the heavens revolved about the earth (for existing instruments could detect no annual parallax), soon found that the observed motion of planets was not quite what it should have been, if the planets revolved about the earth. The discrepancy was solved, however, by postulating an epicycle, i.e. that the planet revolved about a point which in turn revolved about the earth. When in time this also failed to account for observations, new epicycles were added, and as many as thirty epicycles had to be assumed for some planets before Copernicus swept away the whole tangle of confusion by returning to the simple Aristarchian, or heliocentric, conception of the solar system. One cannot avoid the uneasy feeling that nuclear physics is now bogged down in the analogue of a complexity of theoretical epicycles.

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Our hope of a major revolution in physical theory rests on more than the analogy with the progress of discovery in other sciences. The way to the necessary simplification may have been opened in the spring of 1958 by the brilliant observation of Dr. John J. Grebe of Dow Chemical Co. that the mass values of the twenty-eight subatomic particles then known are in ratios which may be expressed by exponents of the square root of 4 over pi. Grebe's theory of electromagnetic forces must be judged by experts, but even a dilettante may be permitted to applaud his basic postulate that "anything requiring complex explanations misses the plain unity of nature's basic structure."

In 1959 "Gödel's proof," published in 1931, first began to attract attention outside the field of mathematics. It is coming to be regarded as an awesomely abstruse demonstration in "meta-mathematics" with "epoch-making" philosophical consequences, and we shall doubtless hear more of it. We need not here discuss the argument which won for Dr. Kurt Gödel an honorary degree from Harvard and a permanent post in the Institute for Advanced Study. The important point is that "Gödel's proof," if valid, merely demonstrates the impossibility of demonstrating the validity of arithmetical relations by deducing them entirely from axioms constructed within arithmetic, that is to say, without appeal to other forms of mathematics, such as geometry, or to observation, and experiment. (By the rules of this game, you are estopped, for example, from pointing out that it is obvious that 2+2=4,

and also from experimentally demonstrating that the addition of two to two invariably produces four.) All that this really proves is that the arithmetician cannot lift himself by his own

bootstraps.

Now even if it should be possible to infer from Gödel's theorem that it is impossible to demonstrate the validity of any system (e.g. formal logic) by a closed set of rules of inference entirely within the system, the philosophical implications could not be more "epochmaking" than those of Hume's demonstration that the arguments for solipsism can be refuted only by an appeal to common sense. Epistemology cannot create itself out of a void. This has long been obvious, but our "Liberal intellectuals" seek the irrational as instinctively as the mole seeks darkness, and they unerringly sense that they protect themselves by claiming, for example, that "linguistic science" shows that there just ain't no grammar. It is a safe bet, therefore, that next year or the year thereafter they will exultingly assure you that Gödel has abolished logic.

In 1959, largely under the stimulus of lectures by Sir Charles Darwin, a number of men mentioned in public an unpleasant fact long known. If, as a result, we begin to think about it instead of reassuming the posture so habitual with human beings but slanderously attributed to the ostrich, this will undoubtedly be recognized as the most important intellectual development of the year.

In the early Seventeenth Century, when Spain became conscious of internal decay and the decline of her empire, she turned for several decades to an intensive study of political economy, and the first university chair of social science was established by Philip IV in 1625. The most brilliant product of this brief era of investigation was a short treatise entitled *Arcanos de la dominación*, now preserved only in an anonymous copy. Its author calculated, on the basis of statistics then available, that the total population which this planet could support on a subsistence level is 4,123,800,000, and that, despite all the palliative effects of wars, pestilences, and regional famines, this figure would be reached in 2040.

There has been some change in the various factors since the Seventeenth Century, and the latest calculations indicate that the maximum is about 5,000,000,000, and that this will be reached between 2000 and 2005, i.e. about forty years from today. Anyone, who wishes to indulge in fantasies about new sources of food miraculously to be discovered by "science," should reflect that this multiplication continued for 200 years would exhaust all the living space on the planet, and that an additional 800 years would bring us to the ultimate absurdity of having standing room only. And arguments about the legitimacy of various forms of birth control are utterly irrelevant, since it has been shown by experience that the breeding masses will never voluntarily limit their offspring.

The grim fact is that the globe is already overpopulated for optimum use of its resources, and that even to hold the population at its present level it would be necessary to wage a continuous war that would destroy 34,000,000 people every year. As an alternative, one could, of course, hope for a new epidemic comparable to the Black Death; according to the best scientific

opinion, a new plague is always possible, but we cannot count on it.

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Although according to the calculations of Prof. Joseph J. Spengler the United States has already expanded beyond the level of population that permits optimum standards of living, it is clear that the relative wealth of this country and the nations of Western Europe—the lands of the white man, in short-will inevitably make them the targets of the far more prolific colored populations of the world, which are now held in check only by our overwhelming superiority in military techniques. It is therefore a grim fact that everything that we may do to promote the industrialization of those areas of the globe and to reduce the death rate from starvation and disease merely hastens the crisis that must come during the lifetime of many of us, and simultaneously diminishes our relative capacity to resist the attacks that will be made upon us.

We are confronted by a process of nature, and to wish that the facts were otherwise is as futile as to wish that women might become mothers without having been pregnant. The first duty of a rational man is to face the facts of life. If we have begun to do that, we may yet have a posterity.

In 1959 the Communist conspiracy, having attained working control of Cuba, Bolivia, and Venezuela, accelerated its preparations for similar conquest of the other nations of Central and South America. Information on these operations was assembled by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security in a tripartite report, Communist Threat to the United States through the Caribbean. Particularly noteworthy was

A Review Of Reviews

the testimony of General C. P. Cabell, Deputy Director of our Central Intelligence Agency, who believes that the Communist take-over of "a substantial part, if not all, of Latin America" is not likely to be completed within the six of seven months predicted by Dr. Emilio Nuñez Portuondo, former president of the Security Council of the "United Nations," after his recent tour of South America.

The president-elect of the pre-Communist government of Cuba testified that in November, 1958, "representatives of the American Government" called on generals in the army that was then defending Cuba against Castro's invasion, and, in effect, urged them to desert, stating authoritatively that the United States would not recognize the legally elected government of Cuba that Castro was then attempting to overthrow. General Cabell testified that he did not "know whether or not any such approach was made by any Government agencies," but opined the Cuban president-elect was mistaken. The manoeuvre described, however, so conforms to the methods that the traitors in our government have used in other Communist operations that the judicious reader will not be reassured by General Cabell's ignorance, and will hope that the Subcommittee will recognize the need for a searching investigation.

Although General Cabell reported that, as is obvious to every observer, the Communist drive for control over all of South America is well under way, his testimony was also noteworthy for a tendency to split hairs by elaborately distinguishing between known members of the Communist Party and persons such as Castro, who confiscate private property and suppress anti-Com-

munists, but, according to reports from Communist sources, are not members of the party. The general even described Venezuela's Betancourt as "an anti-Communist"! (See article beginning on Page 1 of this magazine.) The general is clearly the kind of man who would deny that a house was on fire, if only the roof was burning.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities began the publication of Facts on Communism, of which the first volume, The Communist Ideology (Government Printing Office; pages, 45¢), is based on an analysis by Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer. Although the account is so highly condensed that it does not even mention Leon Trotsky, who was one of the most influential Communist "theoreticians" as well as one of the most efficient mass-murderers, the reader will probably find here as much as he can endure of the grotesque sophistries and pseudo-intellectual contortions of the Marxists. It is, indeed, difficult to believe that this weird cult could be taken seriously by men of any education, but the almost incredible credulity of "intellectuals" is a well attested phenomenon; only a few years ago, for example, the disgusting and ridiculous Aleister Crowley could number a distinguished professor of mathematics among those who worshipped him as the incarnate Beast of the Apocalypse and venerated his excrement as a divine emanation. Crowley himself knew, of course, that Crowleyanity was merely a rigmarole devised to facilitate the satisfaction of his own inhuman appetites, and we cannot suppose that communist "theoreticians" are less aware of their own purposes.

An analysis of the Communist men-

APRIL, 1960

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tality may be reserved for later volumes in the series, but I regret that this one does not mention, at least, Marx' standard procedure: he first determined what he wanted history or science to prove and then sent his assistants to discover or devise evidence and arguments.

More important than the ideological façade of Communism is the character of the conspirators themselves. On this point we now have available Matt Cvetic's The Big Decision (P. O. Box 2789, Hollywood 28, Calif.; 217 pages, \$1.00). The title reflects the author's conviction that Americans, who have been for so long confused by the secret conspirators who "inject the 'party line,' very subtly, wherever they are active in government service, political parties, trade unions, church groups, social health and welfare programs and so on,"-must "make a choice here and now" between a vigorous reassertion of American principles and all the horrors of a Communist coup d'état.

The book is largely a personal account of the lonely nine years that the author, an agent of the F.B.I., spent among the "madmen of destiny and death," of whom he has drawn some clear portraits. There is, for instance, the "weaselfaced high-ranking Party functionary" whose peroration was, "Comrades, I can hardly wait until the Revolution. . . . I'm sure as hell going to enjoy torturing and butchering the clergy, and tossing their bodies in the Ohio River.' Whether this rapt vision included the clergymen who, as Mr. Cvetic later learned, were members of the gang was not stated, but it may not have excluded them, for a member of the Soviet Secret Police later discussed with the author the necessity of murdering the

majority of American Communists "when we take over in the United States."

One of the author's duties in the conspiracy included the organization of lavish "social and cultural events, to which several top American political leaders, business men, industrialists, 'high society do-gooders' were invited." These entertainments, staged with unlimited funds, served to recruit fellowtravellers, but "usually when these 'social' events were over, we 'comrades' would sit around entertaining each other with ribald stories . . . Most of these stories were lurid and sadistic tales of how we were going to torture, dismember, and hang or shoot these 'gullible Americans' when the time came."

What Americans most urgently need to know is that the conspiracy that has placed its agents in every segment of their society is not a band of mistaken ideologues, but a vast gang of murderers driven by a demonic and insatiable lust to torture and kill.

The aspirant assassins who write "Ph.D." or "D.D." after their names usually hold positions of prestige and influence from which they disseminate sophistries and lies designed to poison the American mind and paralyze the will to resist.

The independent estimates made by Dr. J. B. Matthews and Mr. Louis Budenz agree that about 3500 members or allies of the conspiracy are now teaching in American colleges and universities. This means that about one out of every twenty college instructors is working for our destruction, and this figure should be considered in the light of the expert opinion of Mr. Budenz and Miss Bella Dodd that the con-

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spiracy's techniques are such that "two or three Communists on any faculty are normally enough to dominate the school or campus."

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A useful work of reference is 6000 Educators: College, University, Theological Seminary, of which Volume I (A-L) has now been published (Circuit Riders, Inc., Cincinnati; 608 pages, \$5.00). It is a directory of names in alphabetical order with a listing of Communist fronts and similar activities in which each person publicly participated, and references to the reports of congressional committees, if the person has been identified as a Communist or has evaded questions by invoking the Fifth Amendment.

This directory must naturally be used with caution. On the one hand, it is incomplete: the list does not include the names of a number of professors and other college teachers or administrators who are members of the Communist party but have not participated in Communist-front activity because they are "sleepers," who are charged with the duty of protecting and advancing the more active confederates without exposing themselves to suspicion; and there are a number of Communist fronts that the editors of this book did not take into account, so that the record under some names is shorter than it would otherwise be. On the other hand, although a long record of Communist-front activity creates a presumption that no reasonable person can ignore, the shorter records are, unfortunately, ambiguous. There are people who sign their names without thinking, and there need be no malice in the notions that may germinate in eggheads subjected to incubation by crypto-Communist colleagues. Many of

the records in this book can doubtless be explained as innocent in intent, but when we place men in positions of trust, we are entitled to know how negligent or gullible they are.

One of the most successful of all Communist operations in the United States has been their long and diligently prepared, gradually accelerated, and now openly virulent offensive against the South. In no other form of subversion have they found it so easy to inflame the passions of sentimentalists, continuously create crises, and sunder loyal Americans into bitterly hostile factions.

From the Communist standpoint this operation would have been a brilliant success had it accomplished no more than to distract attention from their innumerable other attacks on the United States, but in the campaign against the South every advance is simultaneously a victory on a dozen other fronts. Every gain here brings the conspirators closer to other strategic objectives: the creation of easily manipulated voting-blocks that can be used for political blackmail even before they are large enough to ensure the capture of offices; paralysis and eventual capture of both political parties; propagation of the notion that the opinions of pro-Communist sociologists are the supreme law of the land and that a supreme court may therefore violate the Constitution with impunity; general acceptance of the doctrine that scientific fact must be suppressed, and news must be censored, whenever incompatible with the wishes of sentimental or hypocritical do-gooders; creation of situations in which responsible citizens may be harrassed and driven to violence; disruption of the

A Review Of Reviews

nation's largest society that is reasonably homogeneous and therefore socially stable; and, most important of all, "civil rights" legislation that will convert the United States into a centralized police-state in which it will be legally possible to arrest a man on the charge that he has been thinking unapproved thoughts, try him before a secret tribunal from which even the victim's attorney is excluded, and imprison him by an edict from which there is no appeal. With so many of these objectives already attained or seemingly within their grasp, it is no wonder that the criminals wear euphoric smiles these days.

Although the Communists with uncanny skill find and exploit all our weaknesses, the success of their offensive against the South was largely achieved by striking at three points at which we were especially vulnerable: our nation, like the maddened Hercules, is haunted and driven by the Eumenides of bitterness and remorse called up by the yet unexpiated crimes that we committed a century ago in the fratricidal frenzy that historians call the Civil War; few among us reflect upon, or even perceive, the differences between a society and a fortuitous aggregation of human beings, and between a living culture and an artificial routine imposed by economic or military force; and finally, the average American in the North knows no more of the realities of life in the South to-day than he knows of life in Confucian China. When he thinks of the South, he sees only the grotesque fictions that have been created and multiplied for half a century by the pseudo-literary scavengers who thrive among the garbage pails of Broadway and Hollywood.

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For the Northerner who is willing to be informed, a young journalist of South Carolina, Mr. William D. Workman, Jr., has written The Case for the South (Devin-Adair, New York; 314 pages, \$5.00). It deserves to be this year's "best seller." It is lucid in its exposition of the issue that unites the South, objective in its statement of social and cultural realities, calm in its analysis of "Liberal" propaganda, simple and factual in style. It is a book which should be read by every man who wants to preserve the United States, for of all the issues that may divide us in feeling and so defeat our own efforts, this is the most sensitive and potentially explosive. Mr. Workman's dispassionate clarification of that issue should convince any open-minded reader that the American who, in this hour of national peril, raises his hand against the South aims a dagger at his own heart.

We Pause To Remark

Bismarck once referred to Napoleon III as having "a great unrecognized incapacity." Senator Styles Bridges has called Charles Bohlen "an experienced failure." Dan Smoot has classified Earl Warren as "one of nature's more unfortunate mistakes." If somebody will now come up with some equally accurate characterization of Eleanor Roosevelt, we'll try to spare the white paper and black ink to give it to a waiting world.

This is a magazine of opinion. But opinion should be based on facts. Here are the facts for

JANUARY, 1960

Friday, January 1

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- → Cameroon's first day of independence is marked by a continuation of violent demonstrations by the Communist-terrorist Union of Cameroon Peoples, in the outskirts of Yaoundé, the capital. Five more deaths are added to the thirty of the preceding day. The Union objects to the new government as being too pro-French and not independent enough.
- → The bank of France issues a new franc, worth one-fifth of an American dollar, to replace the old one which had dropped in value to approximately one five-hundredth of a dollar.
- → Effective today Social Security taxes increase twenty percent.
- → General David M. Shoup succeeds General Randolph Pate as Commandant of the United States Marine Corps.
- → Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev indicates that the Soviet Union may disarm unilaterally, at least as to the numbers in its armed forces.
- → Indonesia's Foreign Ministry announces that Khrushchev will visit Indonesia in February.

Saturday, January 2

→ Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts announces his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination and his determination not to accept the vice-presidential nomination "under any condition."

- → A major tie-up of transportation is avoided by a few hours as New York City officials and the Transport Workers Union agree to raises of eighteen to twenty-five cents an hour over the next three years for 38,000 transit workers.
- → Eight members of the United Packinghouse Workers Union receive fines and jail terms for violence on the picket lines last month at the Wilson and Company plant in Albert Lea, Minnesota.

Sunday, January 3

- → The Justice Department reports that its activities in anti-trust cases were greater in 1959 than in any year since 1942.
- → Swastika painting is reported from London, Glasgow, Vienna, Berlin, Nuremburg, and New York as the West German Foreign Ministry says it will "take the strongest steps in this matter."
- → Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. of New York is angry that Negro bookies are not as immune from arrest as Italian bookies in Harlem.
- → Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam says that he will retire as Bishop of Washington on June 19, but will remain as a non-voting member of the

Council of Bishops, the executive body of the Methodist Church.

- → The Nicaraguan Government accuses Heriberto Reyes, former Nicaraguan army officer, of leading an invasion from Honduras.
- → The West German Government charges that the current anti-Semitic incidents "are part of a concerted plan to defame the Federal Republic in the eyes of the world."

Monday, January 4

- → Moscow radio claims that Christmas is a capitalistic weapon and Jesus Christ was never more than a myth.
- → Mediators Vice President Nixon and Secretary of Labor Mitchell announce the conclusion of a labor-management agreement in the steel industry, ending negotiations which lasted nine months, including one hundred and sixteen days of strikes.
- → Major General L. R. Doan, head of the United States Military Aid Advisory Group in Taiwan, says that the reduction of American military aid in 1959 and 1960 will delay the modernization program for Taiwan's army until 1961.

Tuesday, January 5

- → Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of West Germany, is eighty-four years of age today.
- → British Prime Minister Macmillan begins an 18,000 mile African tour which will include visits to Ghana, Nigeria, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Union of South Africa, and the British High Commission territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland.

- → Eleven major steel companies and the United Steel Workers of America sign a new contract which, industry sources estimate, provides a forty-one cents per hour gain for union members.
- → Governor Michael V. DiSalle of Ohio pledges his support to Senator Kennedy in his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.
- → Major General John B. Medaris, Commander of the Army Ordnance Missile Command, announces a crash program to develop the Nike Zeus, the Army's anti-missile missile.
- → Minister of Public Works Mousa Arafa of the United Arab Republic says that offers to help build the Aswan Dam have come from the West German Government, and from either governmental or private sources in Italy, Japan, Austria, and Britain.
- → Pravda of Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, reports that Soviet experts will aid the Czech Government's construction of one of Europe's largest steel mills, with "an expected annual production of 9,300,000 tons of steel, rolled steel plate, and coke."
- → A Jordanian military spokesman charges that two Israeli fighter planes attacked Jordanian planes over Jordanian territory today.

Wednesday, January 6

- → The White House announces that French President de Gaulle will make a week-long state visit to the United States in April.
- → The Eighty-sixth Congress reconvenes, with civil rights legislation as the major topic of concern.

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→ Secretary of Defense Gates says that he has issued a memorandum to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, instructing them to inform him immediately when they have an inkling of policy differences among themselves.

- → Yugoslav Politburo member, Svetoszar Vukmanovic-Tempo, flies to Moscow, making it the first time in two years that a top-ranking Yugoslav Communist is known to have gone to Soviet headquarters.
- → Anthony F. Arpaia, a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, describes that agency as an "organizational monstrosity."
- → United States Controller General Joseph Campbell charges that, in direct violation of the law, "nearly one-fourth of the land placed in the soil bank" by the Agriculture Department is land which had not previously been used regularly to grow crops.
- → Sabotage is suspected as a National Airlines' DC-6-B, en route from New York to Miami, crashes in North Carolina, killing all thirty-four aboard.
- → Senator Frank J. Lausche of Ohio criticizes, as undemocratic, Ohio Governor DiSalle's pledge of support for Senator Kennedy's bid for the Democratic presidential nomination through the device of DiSalle going to the convention as a favorite-son candidate.

Thursday, January 7

→ In his State of the Union message President Eisenhower predicts a surplus of \$4,200,000,000 for the coming fiscal year, and possibly less difficult relations between the Soviet Union and the noncommunist nations.

- → Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana says that his country is willing to join a union of West and East African states to resist exploitation by colonial powers.
- → The Methodist Church in the United States is advised by its own study commission to continue the system of racially segregated jurisdictions.
- → Russia announces its plans to test a new rocket over the Central Pacific with the target area approximately one thousand miles east of the Marshall Islands, United States nuclear testing grounds.
- → Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani, secretary of the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office at the Vatican, sharply scores Western statesmen for exchanging visits with Soviet leaders because, in doing so, they "shake the hand that slapped Christ in the face."
- → King Savang Vathana of Laos names Koll Abhay as Premier, to succeed Phoui Sananikone, who resigned on December 31.
- → In Cincinnati the Hamilton County Council of the American Legion moves the expulsion of Ohio's Senator Stephen M. Young from the Legion because of Young's speechifying before the Emergency Civil Liberties Union, a Communist front.
- → Voice of America officials announce that the broadcast of Eisenhower's State of the Union message has encountered no interference by the Soviet Union's jamming network.

Friday, January 8

→ Red Premier Otto Grotewohl of East Germany says he will represent East and West Germany at the proposed summit meeting, if West German Chancellor Adenauer does not attend.

- → Panamanian trade unions call a twenty-four hour strike as a protest against employers who refuse to comply with the new minimum wage of forty cents per hour.
- → New York City's Board of Education suspends four teachers for allegedly making false statements about past membership in the Communist Party.
- → British scientist Ian Campbell returns to London from nine years of self-imposed exile in Communist Poland, and claims he is cured of his former "very pro-Communist views."
- → William P. Vinson, former international representative of the United Automobile Workers Union, is charged with felonious assault during the strike against the Kohler Company of Wisconsin, after already serving thirteen months in prison for a similar crime in the same strike.
- → The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People criticizes the study commission that urged the Methodist Church in the United States to retain its system of racially segregated jurisdictions.

Saturday, January 9

- → Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana asks British Prime Minister Macmillan to help Ghana liberate the remaining colonial territories in Africa.
- → Netherlander H. C. Van der Houlst, President of the International Committee on Space Research, announces that the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czecho-

slovakia have agreed to work with western powers on common problems of fundamental spatial research.

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- → A Naval spokesman says that there is strong evidence of sabotage to the nuclear-powered cruiser, Long Beach, which is under construction at the Fore River Shipyards of the Bethlehem Steel Company at Quincy, Massachusetts.
- → The Louisiana Democratic gubernatorial nomination is won by Jimmie H. Davis, former governor and present supporter of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, while the loser is de Lesseps S. Morrison, mayor of New Orleans and supporter of Senator John F. Kennedy.

Sunday, January 10

- → Former President Harry S. Truman, in a syndicated article, urges congressional and bipartisan support and participation in the Paris summit meeting scheduled for May.
- → The Fourth Ohio District, representing seventy American Legion posts, votes to request the expulsion of United States Senator Stephen M. Young from the Legion.
- → Republican Senator John Marshall Butler of Maryland and Democratic Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas accuse administration officials of forcing an inflationary settlement upon the Steel industry.
- → The Agriculture Department announces that the Commodity Credit Corporation realized only about seventy cents on the dollar for surplus farm products sold out of Government inventories, in the sixteen-months-period ending on November 1, 1959.

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Monday, January 11

- → American Ambassador Philip W. Bonsal delivers protesting note to Cuba, as State Department officials estimate that American owned ranches and other holdings have been seized, to a value of between five and six million dollars.
- → Soviet Ambassador Mikhail A. Menshikov arrives at the White House bearing gifts and goodwill messages from Khrushchev to Eisenhower.
- → Charles E. Bohlen of the State Department and Soviet Ambassador Menshikov meet in a new effort to settle Russia's lend-lease debt to the United States, dating back to World War II.
- → Chancellor Adenauer indicates that in the proposed summit meeting he will not consider suggestions for any change in the present legal status of Berlin.
- → Returning from a nine-day tour of Africa, American Ambassador to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge urges the United States to press for foreign aid to Africa in a "vigorous multilateral program which cannot be suspected of any ulterior motives."

Tuesday, January 12

- → United States Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon proposes a worldwide program of aid to underdeveloped nations and of general economic cooperation by a trans-Atlantic organization of Western European powers, Canada, and the United States.
- → Milton S. Eisenhower's 1956 suggestion is realized today as the Atomic Energy Commission signs a contract with the Puerto Rico Water Resources

Authority to construct an experimental nuclear power plant in Puerto Rico where Latin American scientists and engineers can be trained.

- → Indonesia's President Sukarno, in his latest display of "guided democracy," assumes power to ban or dissolve any and all political parties "which oppose the aims and principles of the State."
- → George V. Allen, director of the United States Information Service, says that Soviet aid to underdeveloped countries should be encouraged rather than condemned by Americans.
- → For the first time since 1947, a United States Attorney General appears personally before the Supreme Court as William P. Rogers seeks a reversal of a Georgia Federal District Court ruling that the Civil Rights Act of 1957 is unconstitutional.

Wednesday, January 13

- → French Finance Minister Antoine Pinay resigns from Premier Michel Debré's government and refuses the position as Minister of State.
- → New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller urges the Federal Government to give the farmers much more extensive help.
- → Eisenhower denies that the presence of Vice President Nixon and Secretary of Labor Mitchell as mediators is any indication that White House pressure was applied to settle the steel dispute.

Thursday, January 14

→ Oklahoma Senator Mike Monroney and Oscar Bakke, safety chief of the Civil Aeronautics Board, say that a

bomb caused the disintegration of the National Airlines' DC-6-B which crashed in North Carolina on January 6.

- → Khrushchev tells members of the Supreme Soviet that Russian scientists have a new and fantastic weapon in the hatching stage.
- → Trustees of the University of Chicago vote to oppose the non-Communist affidavit required for Federal student loans.
- → Prime Minister Nehru says that India must go along with Socialism if its economy is to develop rapidly.
- → John L. Lewis formally resigns from the presidency of the United Mine Workers of America.
- → The Senate Government Operations Committee reports that the United States Government has approximately \$265,000,000,000 worth of real and personal property, an increase of \$2,000,000,000 since last year.

Friday, January 15

- → By unanimous vote of its 1300 deputies, the Soviet Parliament ratifies Khrushchev's plan to reduce military manpower by one-third.
- → Violent leftist demonstrations in Tokyo mark the departure of Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi for Washington to sign a new security treaty with the United States.
- → In a meeting of the International Committee for Space Research the Soviet Union agrees "in principle" to join in "Operation Space Warm" to track man-made space vehicles.

→ The Federal Parliament of Nigeria adopts a motion to request the British Government to grant Nigeria its independence in October, 1960.

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Saturday, January 16

- → Thailand's Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman complains about a ten percent cut in United States economic aid for 1960.
- → Chancellor Adenauer denies that either Nazism or anti-Semitism had ever taken root in the German people.
- → A New York Times correspondent describes Castro's regime as converting Cuba into an armed camp where bank employees, commercial and industrial workers, bus drivers and conductors are "enthusiastically" spending hours drilling.

Sunday, January 17

- → The White House announces that Eisenhower will visit the Soviet Union from June 10 to June 19.
- → Mobs parade and mass before the West German embassy in London to protest against anti-Semitic incidents in Germany.
- → The Nationalist Chinese Government announces that it had a favorable balance of trade for 1959 with \$10,174,000 more exports than imports.
- → Former Senator William Benton, now chairman of a special subcommittee of The Democratic Advisory Council, issues a report ("Education and Freedom's Future") claiming that permanent federal aid to education is necessary since education is no longer "a matter of state and local responsibility."

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→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev takes American Ambassador Thompson and his family for a two-hour sleigh ride in the snow.

Monday, January 18

- → After eighteen days of independence, Cameroon's Premier Ahamadou Ahidjo admits he has asked France to send up to two full-strength battalions to help in the suppression of leftwing terrorist groups.
- → A California Superior Court Judge rules that the International Union of Machinists was entitled to expel two workers solely on grounds that they opposed the union's position against "right-to-work" legislation.
- → The United Arab Republic announces that the Soviet Union will finance the second, as it did the first, stage of the Aswan Dam.
- → President Eisenhower submits a budget which, despite the provision for more than four billion dollars surplus, includes an increase of almost a billion and a half dollars in expenditures over this year.

Tuesday, January 19

- → The new state of Cameroon, beset by internal terrorism, applies for admission to the United Nations.
- → Major General Jacques Massu, French Commander in the Algiers region, is recalled to Paris to clarify reports that the Army might use its force to oppose de Gaulle's Algerian policy of selfdetermination.
- → Defense Secretary Gates and General Nathan F. Twining, Chairman of the

Joint Chiefs of Staff, tell the Senate Armed Services Committee that the United States has a distinct advantage over the Soviet Union in the total consideration of nuclear weapons.

- → To write the film script of Exodus, Hollywood producer Otto Preminger ignores the "blacklist" and hires Communist Dalton Trumbo, who earned a conviction for contempt of Congress in 1947.
- → Premier Kishi and President Eisenhower sign a Japanese-American mutual security treaty containing loopholes which American military officials consider as a possible deterrent to effective action against a Communist attack upon either South Korea or Taiwan.
- → A Cuban-Yugoslav communiqué announces that Communist Marshal Tito has accepted Castro's invitation to visit Cuba at an undetermined date.
- → The Communist-led terrorists of the F. L. N. in Algeria receive pledges of support from United Arab Republic's Nasser and King Mohammed of Morocco.

Wednesday, January 20

- → French President de Gaulle, reacting to mounting civil and military criticisms, reaffirms his policy of self-determination for Algeria.
- → Pravda reports that yesterday's Japanese-American treaty is considered in Moscow as a move against the Soviet Union.
- → Venezuelan President Betancourt's red regime reports a successful breakup of an anti-Betancourt plot.

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- → Eleanor Roosevelt and Averell Harriman heap praises upon former President Truman's knowledge of American History.
- → The White House announces that Eisenhower will visit Japan in June, en route home from the Soviet Union.

Thursday, January 21

- → Former British Prime Minister Anthony Eden's memoirs, which are being serialized in the *London Times*, reveal that he gave Eisenhower almost three months notice that Britain might use force against Egypt in the Suez Canal crisis of 1956.
- → Secretary of State Herter expresses concern over the Cuban situation after Castro castigates the United States in another one of his marathon telecasts.
- → Michigan Governor G. Mennen Williams confesses that he would accept a presidential or vice-presidential nomination.

Friday, January 22

- → Representative Graham A. Barden, chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, announces that he will not seek re-election this year, paving the way for Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. of New York to assume the chairmanship.
- → Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin calls for calmness in dealing with the Castro regime, as American Ambassador Bonsal is recalled to Washington for consultations after Castro accuses him of duplicity.
- → Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts describes the "student loyalty oath" as

government dictation of personal convictions.

→ President de Gaulle fires Major General Jacques Massu as army commander of Algiers.

Saturday, January 23

- → Chicago Police Commissioner Timothy J. O'Connor resigns in the midst of a fruitful grand jury investigation of corruption in the Police Department.
- → The United States Naval Electronics Laboratory announces that the bathyscaphe, *Trieste*, descended 37,800 feet beneath the surface of the ocean in the Marianas Trench, about two hundred miles southeast of Guam.
- → In Miami, the editor and publisher of the *Havana Avance*, Jorge Zayas, who fled from Castro's Cuba on Wednesday, says that the regime is carrying Cuba toward a Communistic dictatorship.
- → Tuskegee Institute, a Negro cultural center, says that the nation did little to improve the lot of the Negro in 1959.

Sunday, January 24

- → French colons (colonials, of European ancestry) fight from behind barricades against gendarmes in Algiers as French General Maurice Challe, commander-in-chief in Algeria, declares a state of siege.
- → Indian Prime Minister Nehru states that the Soviet Union is sincerely striving for world peace.
- → A New York Times correspondent reports that the Confederation of Cuban Workers, the central labor organization in Cuba, is conducting an effective and

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complete purge of anti-Communist labor leaders.

- → The national income reached \$400,000,000,000,000 in 1959, according to a preliminary report issued today by the Commerce Department's Office of Business Economics.
- → Red China's Premier Chou En-lai echoes earlier refrain of Khrushchev that the new American-Japanese treaty is a grave threat to peace.

Monday, January 25

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- → Tension is dominant in Algeria as 2500 colons face French army paratroopers across barricades in Algiers, while demonstrations and strikes are held in sympathy with the colons in Oran, Blida, Bône, and Sidi-bel-Abbès.
- → It is announced that strategic data of the Arctic Ocean will be shared by Soviet, American, and Canadian scientists, according to a tentative agreement made earlier this month.
- → President Rajendra Prasad reaffirms India's "faith in peace and peaceful coexistence," on the eve of India's tenth anniversary as a republic.
- → Critics, who describe foreign aid as "giveaway programs," are abysmally ignorant, according to President Eisenhower.
- → Communist agent and former West German naval officer, Horst Ludwig, confesses that he sold American and German secrets to the Soviet Union over a three year period, 1956-1958.
- → Representative Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania charges that the American Association of University Professors, some justices of the Supreme Court, and

highly placed policy makers of the executive branch do not or will not understand the threat of Communism.

→ Federal aid to education will be more than doubled, if an amendment, offered today by twenty-two Democrats and one Republican (Senator Thomas E. Martin of Iowa), is added to Senator Patrick McNamara's education bill.

Tuesday, January 26

- → French Premier Michel Debré makes a hasty visit to Algiers and urges complete support of de Gaulle's policy of self-determination for Algeria.
- → Eisenhower says that there will be neither reprisals against the Cuban people nor intervention in Cuba's internal affairs.
- → The United Nations Security Council recommends the admission of strifetorn Cameroon to membership in the United Nations.
- → Communist leaders in Poland urge closer technical cooperation with other Soviet-bloc countries.
- → The Soviet Union is invited to participate in World Mental Health Year by Dr. Frank Freemont-Smith, co-chairman of the International Committee for World Mental Health Year.
- →Cuban radio commentators reach new vitriolic heights as they continue to denounce the Eisenhower administration.
- → General of the Army Douglas Mac-Arthur is eighty years of age today.
- → The Senate Foreign Relations Committee begins hearings on the proposed repeal of the Connally Reservation

APRIL, 1960

which has served since 1946 to limit intervention into American domestic affairs by the International Court of Justice (World Court).

Wednesday, January 27

- → Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri accuses the Eisenhower administration of downgrading Soviet military strength so that the budget books may be balanced.
- → The American Civil Liberties Union tells the Defense Department that American security provisions are too strict on Okinawa and other Ryukyuan Islands.
- → The United States breaks off attempts to settle the Soviet Union's lend-lease debt as Ambassador Menshikov insists upon confusing the debt settlement with a new trade agreement and long-term credits for Russia.
- → Secretary of State Herter and Attorney General Rogers urge repeal of the Connally Reservation.
- → Communist Party chief, Arvid Y. Pelshe of Latvia, says that the "effects of bourgeois nationalist propaganda (amongst Latvian youths) have not been completely liquidated even now."
- → Alger Hiss, two beatniks, Fund for the Republic's President Robert M. Hutchins and other Americans of similar views tell British television audience what is wrong with the United States, in a pre-recorded program entitled, "We Dissent."
- → Fidel Castro makes a speech over television and radio without reviling the United States.

Thursday, January 28

- → The Japanese Foreign Ministry accuses the Soviet Union of interference in Japan's domestic affairs by criticizing the new Japanese-American treaty.
- → Pro-Castro and anti-Castro Cubans riot for thirty-five minutes in New York City's Central Park.
- → Kommunist, in Belgrade, official organ of the League of Communists, admits that "religion cannot be abolished through administrative measures."
- → India agrees to grant Nepal \$29,400,-000 for economic development.
- → New China News Agency reports that Communist China turned one million peasants into steel workers during 1959.
- → General Thomas S. Power, Commander of the Strategic Air Command, says that within two years Soviet missile strength will be enough for a massive attack against the United States.

Friday, January 29

- → Twelve high-ranking officials of the Soviet Government arrive in New York to begin a twenty-four-day tour of the United States.
- ** Eleven farm groups plead with the administration to curb Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Flemming's activities before there is another crisis similar to the cranberry scare of last November.
- → A New York Times correspondent reports that there was a brief revival of cannibalism in Nigeria last month and that twenty-seven men are in jail on the charge.

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→ Socialist trade unions begin a twenty-four-hour strike to force the Belgian Government to enact a broader program of welfare measures.

→ President de Gaulle, in a television appearance, reminds the French Army that it must obey him by suppressing the *colons'* revolt in Algiers.

→ General of the Army Douglas Mac-Arthur enters Lenox Hill Hospital in New York City with a complaint of feeling slightly ill.

Saturday, January 30

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→ Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie wants big powers to keep little powers "fully informed" on what is said in their exchange visits and summit meetings.

→ Arthur Larson, herald of modern republicanism, desires a complete worldwide legal system under the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

→ Major General John B. Medaris, Commander of the Army Ordnance Missile Command, retires and simultaneously describes the administration's space program as leading to disaster. → The Atomic Energy Commission reports that no H-bomb tests will be held in 1960.

Sunday, January 31

→ Central Intelligence Agency's Deputy Director General C. P. Cabell says that Cuban Communists do not consider Castro to be either a Communist or even pro-Communist.

→ Premier Polyansky of the Russian Federated Socialist Republic hails Governor Nelson Rockefeller for his understanding of the need to improve Soviet-American relations.

→ Secretary of Defense Gates estimates that the United States will begin overtaking the Soviets in the missile race in 1962.

→ Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan accepts Castro's invitation to open a Soviet exhibition on science, technology, and culture in Havana this week.

→ President de Gaulle is reported to be firm in holding out for "unconditional surrender" by the *colons* in Algeria.

→ The African Peoples' Congress asks the United States to stop supporting France against the Communist-led terrorists of the F. L. N. in Algeria.

FEBRUARY, 1960

Monday, February 1

→ Communists lose a few Assembly seats but gain 7½ percent in their share of the votes in Kerala's elections.

→ The Soviet Government announces that Robert Castle has been given an exclusive franchise to distribute ten thousand Moskvich automobiles in the United States during the next two years.

→ Surrender by the *colons* ends the uprising against de Gaulle's self-determination policy for Algeria.

→ Argentina contracts to purchase fifty million dollars' worth of Soviet industrial equipment.

APRIL, 1960

- → Chancellor Adenauer warns Khrushchev to stop slandering West Germany, if Soviet peace proposals are to be taken seriously.
- → Senator Aiken of Vermont revives the old proposal that the United Nations take over control of the Panama Canal.
- → Four Negro collegians begin a "sitdown" demonstration after being refused service at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Tuesday, February 2

- → The Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy holds secret hearings to determine if the Eisenhower administration intends to lend atomic weapons to certain allied powers.
- → By almost a six-to-one ratio, the French National Assembly votes de Gaulle extraordinary powers to control subversive resistance to his Algerian policy.
- → A committee of Congolese and Belgians decides that Europeans shall not be allowed to vote in the first elections of the new Congo state, expected to begin its independence in June.
- → The United States House of Representatives resolves by a vote of 380 to 12 that the Panamanian flag should not fly over the Canal Zone without previous Congressional approval.
- → An American customs agent tells the House Un-American Activities Committee that United States schools and universities are being swamped with Communist propaganda.

Wednesday, February 3

- → It is reported that Eisenhower favors changes in Atomic Energy legislation to allow the United States to supply its allies with atomic weapons.
- → British Prime Minister Macmillan scores South Africa's racial policies before the stonily silent Assembly and Senate of the Union of South Africa.
- → The Eisenhower administration plans to increase American aid to India by at least fifty percent.
- → LeRoy Wolins of Chicago pleads the First and Fifth Amendments when asked by the House Un-American Activities Committee if he had been paid by the Soviet Government to promote American participation in the Moscow World Youth Festival of 1957.

Thursday, February 4

- → Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan arrives in Cuba for about a week's visit.
- → The United States declines Brazilian good offices of mediation to improve Cuban-American relations.
- → General Maxwell D. Taylor, former Army Chief of Staff, doubts if the Army is strong enough to meet American commitments to forty-eight nations.
- → Togoland's Premier Olympio rejects an invitation for Togoland to become Ghana's seventh province.
- → President de Gaulle impresses sanctions on French Army officers and political organizations that were involved on the side of the *colons* in the recent Algerian uprising.

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Friday, February 5

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- → Minister Delegate Jacques Soustelle, a supporter of French sovereignty over Algeria, is ousted by de Gaulle.
- → Anti-Mikoyan demonstrations mark the opening of the Soviet exhibition in Havana.
- → A Czech husband-and-wife team is decorated for helping to keep three hundred would-be escapees behind the Iron Curtain.
- → Italian President Gronchi and Foreign Minister Guiseppe Pella leave for Moscow, where they will explain Italian policy on questions which will be discussed at the proposed summit meeting, to which Italy has not been invited.

Saturday, February 6

- → At Columbia University an Arab League representative, Kamil Abdel Rabim, denies any link between Arab nationalism and international communism.
- → State Department officials decline to predict what the American position will be on Venezuelan charges of inhumanity by the Dominican Republic, before the Organization of American States.
- → A Labor Department study foresees larger growth in service industries than in production industries during the next decade.

Sunday, February 7

→ Hollywood producer Stanley Kramer calls the American Legion "un-American" for trying to keep Communists out of the motion picture business.

- → United Nations headquarters in Jerusalem listens to Israeli and Syrian protests as each power blames the other for continuing their border dispute.
- → Early indications are that Burma's former Premier U Nu will be returned to power as a result of last Saturday's elections.
- → The 1959 Report of the House Un-American Activities Committee emphasizes tremendous Communist gains in the United States during the past year.

Monday, February 8

- → A.F. of L. C.I.O. President George Meany charges that Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. of New York has stirred up "racial hatred at the least provocation," and will make a "terrible" chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor.
- → Secretary of State Herter expresses doubt that the proposed summit meeting will solve the future of Berlin.
- → Chancellor Adenauer previews his "summit" challenge by saying: "Berlin does not belong to the Soviet Union— Berlin belongs to Germany."
- → Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Arleigh Burke reveals that the versatile Polaris missile is perfected and will be ready for use in about six months.

Tuesday, February 9

→ The Organization of American States agrees to consider charges of terrorism against Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo's regime in the Dominican Republic.

APRIL, 1960

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- → Castro's "agrarian reforms" are praised by Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan.
- → The Senate Preparedness subcommittee announces that Central Intelligence Director Allen W. Dulles will be recalled to say whether we are gaining or losing in the ballistic missile race with the Soviets.
- → Eugene W. Castle, well-known critic of American foreign aid "giveaway" problems, dies at the age of sixty-two.

Wednesday, February 10

- → President de Gaulle abolishes the Algerian home guard, relieves three generals of their zonal commands, and begins a complete reorganization of police services and civil administration in Algeria.
- → Soviet Premier Khrushchev leaves Moscow to visit India, Indonesia, Burma, and Afghanistan, and, while flying over Red China, wires "fraternal greetings" to his Chinese puppets.
- → Alojzije Cardinal Stepinac, primate of Yugoslavia, dies after fourteen years of imprisonment and confinement imposed by Communist Dictator Tito.

Thursday, February 11

- → Eisenhower's new comprehensive proposals for a nuclear-test ban are described two hours later, by a Soviet spokesman, as unacceptable.
- → French farmers riot in Amiens as a protest against de Gaulle's decision to abolish the cost-of-living system under which farm prices have moved upward.
- → Khrushchev warns that the Soviet Union will help Castro in his "cold war" against the United States.

- → After 177 days the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union ends its strike against the Anaconda Company as a three-year wage agreement is signed.
- → Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut urges the Senate to pass legislation to authorize a security program among employees of national defense contractors.
- → The West German Government announces that Chancellor Adenauer will begin a trip to the United States and Japan on March 12.
- → Former Postmaster General James A. Farley tells an Australian audience that the firing of General MacArthur will bring "eminence in world history" to Harry S. Truman.
- → Argentine Naval Secretary Gaston Clement claims that a mystery submarine has been crippled by Argentine warships in the Golfo Nuevo.
- → The A. F. of L.-C.I.O. announces plans for a massive labor conference on foreign policy with the expectation that conferees at the proposed summit meeting will consider labor's views.

Friday, February 12

- → Khrushchev boasts that the Soviet Union is the strongest military power in the world but does not wish to take advantage of its superiority.
- → After a week of relative quiet Israeli and Syrian patrols exchange shots for two hours.

Saturday, February 13

→ A plutonium explosion from a tower in the Sahara Desert marks France's entry natio

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entry into the exclusive ranks of atomic nations.

- → British Labor Party leader, Hugh Gaitskell, says that his party's "vague threats" to all private property have caused recent election reversals.
- → The Argentine Navy announces that there are now two mystery submarines hiding in the Golfo Nuevo.
- → British Rear Admiral A. A. Hezlet says that Russian submarines are very active off the Newfoundland coast.
- → A huge Soviet-Cuban trade pact is signed by Deputy Premier Mikoyan and Prime Minister Castro.
- → The "monolithic and unbreakable friendship" between Russia and Red China is the subject of messages exchanged between leaders of these two countries.
- → Former President Herbert Hoover says that Marxist thinking is frozen into the Eisenhower administration.

Sunday, February 14

- → Alger Hiss' recent employer discloses that Hiss has resigned a \$20,000-a-year job in the comb business for something better.
- → A round-the-clock airborne alert might trigger Soviet action, according to General Thomas D. White, Air Force Chief of Staff.

Monday, February 15

→ A fourth term for South Korea's President Syngman Rhee becomes a virtual certainty as his chief opponent, Chough Pyonk-ok, dies after surgery in Washington, D.C.

- → Republican members of the Senate Rackets Committee accuse former chief counsel, Robert F. Kennedy, of refusing to investigate crime and violence in strikes by Walter Reuther's United Automobile Workers Union.
- → The Communist Tass News Agency endorses On the Beach in advertisements for this Stanley Kramer film production of Nevil Shute's novel.
- → The Organization of American States, by a vote of nineteen to one, decides to investigate Venezuelan charges that the Dominican Republic has flagrantly violated human rights.

Tuesday, February 16

- → A United Nations mixed armistice commission condemns Israel for instigating recent clashes with Syria.
- → Khrushchev receives a rather cool reception as he arrives in Burma.
- → Nasser invites the Iraqi army to join the United Arab Republic's army for the "liberation of Palestine."
- → Eisenhower cautiously hints that the United States might increase foreign aid to Nationalist China.
- → Thirteen United States Navy experts arrive in Argentina to join in the search for the two mysterious submarines which have eluded Argentine warships and planes for almost three weeks.
- → Tracts are circulated in Algiers saying that "the barricades will go up again."
- → Britain announces its highest peacetime defense budget in history—\$4,500,-000,000 for the next fiscal year.

APRIL. 1960

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Wednesday, February 17

- → Soviet Colonel Tsyrfa, writing in an official Defense Ministry journal, says that the United States can no longer bargain from a position of strength.
- → The Commerce Department reports that the United States gross national product for 1959 was \$479,500,000,000, an increase of almost thirty-three billion dollars over 1958.
- → Secretary of State Herter warns Congress to pass all of Eisenhower's \$4,175,000,000 foreign aid request in order to combat Communist expansion.
- → Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan, military ruler for the past fifteen months, is sworn into office as Pakistan's first elected president.
- → Air Reserve Center Training Manual NR. 45-0050, Increment V, Volume 7 says "there appears to be overwhelming evidence" of Communist infiltration into American churches and educational institutions.

Thursday, February 18

- → Khrushchev arrives in Indonesia, home of the world's fourth largest Communist Party, and says that he knows of no political conflicts between the Soviet Union and Indonesia.
- → Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon testifies that the State Department will remove the secrecy label from much of the foreign aid program.
- → Communist demonstrations against the Franco regime of Spain take place in Madrid, and in Brussels, Belgium.
- → Castro describes the recently signed Cuban-Soviet trade pact as the "most

beneficial agreement ever in the nation's history."

- → Eisenhower, by executive order, grants the Federal Bureau of Investigation power to seize suspected contraband arms exports, without first arresting the exporter.
- → Secretary of State Herter urges restraint and patience toward Cuba.
- → Retired Major General John B. Medaris, former chief of the Army Ordnance Missile Command, advises the formation of a *unified* space and missile command.
- → Two-time-loser Adlai Stevenson says that he could be drafted to be the Democratic presidential nominee.
- → The eighth Winter Olympic Games begin in Squaw Valley, California with 740 athletes from thirty nations.

Friday, February 19

- → Red Chinese troops invade Hong Kong and seize about twenty-five Chinese refugees.
- → Convicted in 1948 of seventeen crimes including kidnaping, perversion, attempted rape, and robbery, Caryl Chessman is granted an eighth stay of execution by California's Governor Brown, who admits that State Department pressure influenced his decision.
- → In Little Rock, Arkansas two Negro men are charged with bombing, on the night of February 9, the home of a Negro student of Central High School.
- → A newspaper in Rome, Messagerro, reports that Khrushchev has offered to withdraw Soviet troops from Hungary, if the United States gives up its Italian bases.

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→ British Queen Elizabeth II gives birth to her third child, a prince and second in line of succession to the throne.

Saturday, February 20

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- → Pravda and Izvestia report that lagging agricultural and oil production have caused major personnel changes in the Communist Party in White Russia and Azerbaidzhan.
- → Diario de la Marina of Cuba criticizes the "economic features" of the recently signed Soviet-Cuba trade agreement.
- → The United States is "spinelessly standing by while Cuba continually insults our country and threatens our citizens," says American Legion National Commander McKneally.

Sunday, February 21

- → Representative Charles Porter of Oregon says that the influx of communism in Cuba has been greatly exaggerated.
- → Castro creates a Cuban governmental planning board to "point out general orienting norms" for "private enterprise."
- → In Bandung, Khrushchev urges his enthusiastic Indonesian comrades to cooperate with him in burying Western colonialism.

Monday, February 22

→ The Castro regime seizes the newspaper, *El Mundo*, and television station, *Telemundo*, which are the last of Italian businessman Amadeo Barletta's forty-

million-dollar holdings in Cuban properties.

- → Eisenhower begins a goodwill Latin American trip to Puerto Rico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay.
- → Finance Minister Viggo Kampmann, a prominent Socialist, is appointed as Danish premier by King Frederick IX.

Tuesday, February 23

- → A son is born to Japanese Crown Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko.
- → Communists in East Germany accuse Lutheran Bishop Otto Dibelius of advocating civil disobedience for which he will be tried in absentia.
- → Modern weaponry is beyond Eisenhower's comprehension, says Thomas G. Lanphier, Jr., as he resigns the vice-presidency of the Convair Division of General Dynamics Corporation.
- → The Congress of Racial Equality, which has supported the Negro lunch counter "sit-down" demonstrations, boasts that its picketing of stores in Northern cities has resulted in considerable losses of business.
- → Joseph L. Rauh, vice-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, says that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is a "dangerously institutionalized" organization which believes it is above criticism.
- → Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia announces that Southern senators will use filibuster tactics to defeat proposed Civil Rights legislation.
- → The Civil Aeronautics Board concludes that dynamite caused the Jan-

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uary 6 crash of the National Airlines' DC-6-B in North Carolina.

- → The Hungarian Government discovers its housing program is an economic failure.
- → Eisenhower and Brazilian President Kubitschek launch a "hemispheric crusade for peace."

Wednesday, February 24

- → Eisenhower receives an enthusiastic welcome in Rio de Janeiro.
- → In Chattanooga, Tennessee several thousand Negroes and whites fight in the streets as a result of the lunch counter "sit-down" demonstrations by Negroes.
- → A Reuters dispatch says that the Soviet Government has instituted a large new scholarship program for Latin American, African, and Asian students to take Muscovite training and education.
- → Italian Premier Antonio Segni, Christian Democrat leader, resigns after a vear and nine days in office.
- → British diplomats are appalled at Adenauer's plans to get German military bases established in Spain.

Thursday, February 25

- → Israel charges that United Arab Republic President Nasser's recent actions are an open incitement to war.
- → Nasser describes the American-British-French 1950 guarantee of the Middle East status as favoring Israel, and he says that any attempt to implement the tripartite agreement will be crushed.

- → In the midst of Eisenhower's Brazilian visit, a United States Navy R6D and a Real Airliner crash in the air over Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro, with only three survivors of the sixty-four persons aboard.
- → State Department press officer, Lincoln White, tells newsmen that the training of six Cuban cadets at Corpus Christi Naval Air Station will cost American taxpayers \$249,000 in 1960,
- → A Senate subcommittee, headed by Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, sharply criticizes the American foreign aid program in Viet Nam.
- → Air Force Secretary Sharp says he did not, and the House Un-American Activities Committee says he did, testify that he had no doubt that Communists had infiltrated American churches. A verbatim transcript of the testimony shows that Secretary Sharp ought to have his memory examined.

Friday, February 26

- → The eighth major plane crash of the year involves an Alitalia Airlines DC-7C, en route from Naples to New York, in Shannon, Ireland. There are twenty-three known survivors out of fifty-two aboard.
- → Eisenhower begins a week-end in Argentina, after a series of bomb blasts occurred in Buenos Aires shortly before his arrival as a protest against his visit.
- → The West German Government announces that its NATO allies have known for about a year, and before negotiations began, that Germany would seek a pact with Spain to allow German military bases on Spanish soil.

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- → Israeli Foreign Minister Golda Meir continues talks with Western and Soviet Ambassadors to discuss Israeli charges that United Arab Republic troops are mobilizing along Israeli borders.
- → Senator Norris Cotton of New Hampshire says that the policy, under which the Commerce Department approved the export of an entire textile mill to Russia, should be abolished.
- → The Agriculture Department announces that farmers' net income for 1959 was down sixteen per cent from 1958.

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- → Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston announces that he is chairman for a \$900,000 drive to help build a Catholic university in Taiwan. Pope John XXIII has previously contributed \$100,000 to the fund.
- → Chairman Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee invites the National Council of Churches to testify in refutation of the Air Force Manual's charges of Communism in the churches.
- → France is willing to abandon atomic weapons if other countries do the same.
- → Khrushchev offers Indonesia longterm credits up to 250 million dollars.

Sunday, February 28

→ The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reveals that Cuban Communists received their current program of action from a Soviet trade mission that visited Cuba last May.

- → Eisenhower and Argentine President Frondisi sign the "Declaration of Bariloche" as their pledge to banish ignorance and poverty in the Americas.
- → Communist China's Premier Chou En-lai agrees to visit India's Prime Minister Nehru to discuss the boundary dispute between their two nations.
- → After a hectic week of lunch counter "sit-down" demonstrations, a strange quiet settles over the Southern States.
- → London is the scene of riots between supporters and opponents of a proposed boycott of South African goods as a protest against that country's racial segregation policies.

Monday, February 29

- → Around-the-clock sessions start in the Senate as the Southern bloc begins to filibuster against civil rights legislation.
- → The Arab League warns Britain, France, and the United States to keep out of the current Arab-Israeli dispute.
- → Khrushchev insists that any top-level talks, after the proposed summit meeting in May, must include Red China, Indonesia, India, and Japan.
- → Khrushchev does not favor a plebiscite conducted by any foreign powers to solve the question of a divided Germany.
- → For the third consecutive day, Evangelist Billy Graham's preliminary meetings are picketed by witch doctors in Kisumu, Kenya.
- → Nehru says that he is agreeable to an April meeting with Chou En-lai to discuss the current Indian-Red China border dispute.



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Now a "Revisionist" Thriller WAR CRIMES DISCREETLY VEILED

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The Marzabotto Affair which deals with the conviction and life sentence of Major Walter Reder for a "crime" which never took place. Reder is still in prison after being in custody fifteen years on baseless charges.

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BULLETS

How many ages hence

Shall this our lofty scene be acted over In states unborn and accents yet unknown!

Shakespeare

There is nothing wrong in having nothing to say unless you insist on saying it.

Uncle Mat

There is no great concurrence between learning and wisdom.

Francis Bacon

A closed mouth gathers no feet.

Let's Have Better Mottoes

Association

One young thing to another: "I prefer men who go for the more refined things in life—like oil."

Sapulpa Adviser

You've no idea what a poor opinion I have of myself, and how little I deserve it.

W. S. Gilbert

The end of the human race is that it will die of civilization.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

The Communists are willing to consider as a "neutral" anyone who is on their side.

Pathfinder

American farmers don't need protection from competition to survive. They need protection from their own government.

Tom Anderson

By 1960 the United States population has increased to thirty-four times its total in 1800. By 1960 the number of employees of the Federal Government has increased to sixteen thousand times its total in 1800.

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It's amazing how liberal all the well dressed ladies are.

Dottie Schoonmaker

Communism is just a dirty boil on the body of history.

Your Editor

Inflation is everyman's illusion of wealth.

Marcella Gray

How do I know what I think until I hear what I say?

Neville Bayless

Garage hand to driver: "Your oil's okay, but your engine could stand changing."

South Australian Motor

Golf is no longer a rich man's game. There are millions of poor players.

There's One Less Since We Got So Busy

The rabble values few things according to truth, but many according to rumor.

Cicero

And Peace itself is War in Masquerade.

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